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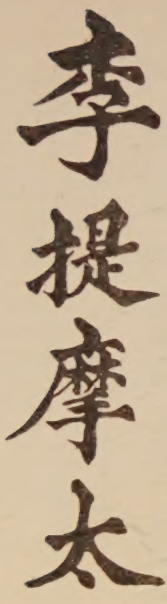

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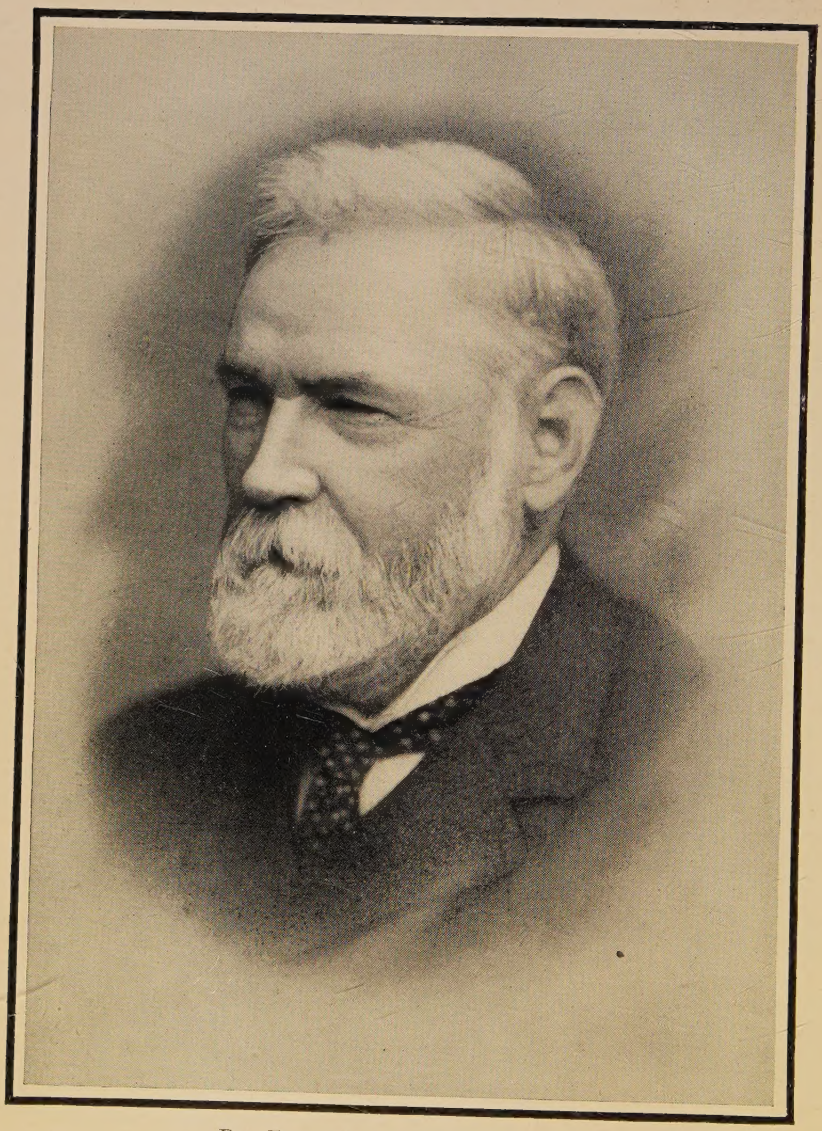

Dr. Timothy Richard at Sixty

TIMOTHY RICHARD
OF
CHINA

SEER, STATESMAN, MISSIONARY & THE MOST DISINTERESTED ADVISER THE CHINESE EVER HAD

BY
WILLIAM E. SOOTHILL
M.A.Oxon., Hon. M.A.Camb.
PROFESSOR OF CHINESE IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD
Formerly President of the Shansi Imperial University, Author of "The Student's Chinese Dictionary," "A Mission in China," "The Three Religions of China," &c. Translator of "The New Testament" into Wenchowese & of the "Analects of Confucius," &c., &c., &c.

WITH FOREWORD BY
The Right Hon. Sir JOHN N. JORDAN, Bart.
K.C.B., K.C.M.G., G.C.I.E.

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FOREWORD

DR TIMOTHY RICHARD, the subject of this biography, which must have been a labour of love to Professor Soothill, his co-worker in later years, was for over forty years an outstanding personality in China, and gained the respect and esteem of the Chinese people in a degree which it has been given to few foreigners to attain. My recollection of him dates from the seventies of last century, when he and a few other devoted missionaries threw themselves into the formidable task of organizing relief work in connection with an appalling famine in Shansi, and laid the foundation of all the subsequent efforts which have been made with so much success to cope with these constantly recurring calamities in China. Dr Richard's work in Shansi brought him into close relations with the ruling classes, and convinced him of the necessity of diffusing throughout the country a knowledge of the humanitarian principles and methods of government practised in the West. Modern education became henceforth the dominant passion of his life. His slender resources were spent in the purchase of the necessary apparatus and equipment, and all his spare time was devoted to giving lectures on scientific and economic subjects, which aroused the interest of the mandarin class, not only in Shansi, but throughout the country generally. His work in this direction, which was rooted in the belief that Christianity was for the healing of the nations, culminated in his organization of the Christian Literature Society, whose contribution to the enlightenment of China is so well known.

It was natural that the province of Shansi, which had been the scene of his earlier philanthropic work, should benefit by one of his later and most constructive achievements. The Protestant missions there having wisely decided not to accept pecuniary compensation for the lives of their members

who were massacred in the Boxer year, Dr Richard arranged with the Chinese Government for the establishment, by way of an expiatory offering, of a university in the capital of the province and superintended its studies for ten years, when it was handed over as a working institution to the province. When I visited the university some five years ago I found the authorities still enthusiastic in their praise of its founder, and the present state of Shansi, which is an oasis in a country almost reduced to chaos, is largely attributable to the example and influence of Dr Richard and his fellow-workers.

The Reform Movement of 1898 drew much of its inspiration from Dr Richard's publications, but under the influence of the younger extremists, including the Emperor himself, it entered upon a course of rash and premature action of which his cautious temperament would not have approved.

Though a seer of visions and a dreamer of dreams, Dr Richard had a sane practical outlook, and some of his dreams are being realized. Years before the idea had taken any material shape in the West he was an ardent advocate of a League of Nations, and his hope that it would some day prove a panacea for the many ills from which China is suffering may not prove to have been altogether visionary.

Very few foreigners make any impression upon the masses of China or leave any trace behind them. Dr Richard is one of the rare exceptions. His Chinese name—Li T'i-mo-t'ai—holds a secure place in the hearts of the Chinese people.

J. N. Jordan.

1st October 1923.

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TIMOTHY RICHARD OF CHINA

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

ALL but a few of the noted missionaries to China have been personally known to me. Their hands have almost touched the hands of Robert Morrison, our great pioneer. High on the roll of honour have these men graved their names—Legge, Chalmers and Edkins; Griffith John, David Hill and Hudson Taylor; Martin, Allen, Nevius, Mateer; Williamson and Faber—good men and true, who being dead still speak in their work and in their writings. On this roll must now be graved the name of Timothy Richard, and posterity may yet decide that after Morrison his name should lead them all. No foreigner, missionary or layman has been so universally known in China. In every province, in every city, and in towns and villages without number throughout the Empire, the name of "Li T'i-mo-t'ai" was known and respected. From the Emperor on his throne to the village student on his hard wooden stool, his writings were read and his love for China appreciated. Born to be a leader of men, he ever cherished noble ideals. He refused to harbour pettiness, meanness or unkindness. "He had a knack of finding the good in every man." His mind was a busy factory of ideas for China and for humanity. He thought not parochially, but always in terms of China, indeed of the human race, yet the individual was as much to him as the crowd. "Brethren, an ecclesiastical noun of multitude, no connection with brother," was foreign to his spirit. A man of genuine personal humility, his ambition for the welfare of men knew no bounds save those

of honour. Courteous and considerate to all, he yet was possessed of undaunted courage and resourceful energy. Generous and magnanimous, his sympathy went out to all sincere thinkers of every race and generation. Consequently the religiously exclusive and intolerant found him difficult to understand and more difficult to include in the number of their elect. He was "a man of sympathies so broad as to startle men of the narrower persuasion." His personal magnetism was remarkable. Urbane towards all, and with a laugh remarkably joyous and musical, it was only with those of like spirit that he opened the inner sanctum of his mind and soul; to such there came a vision of a new world like that of St John's at Patmos. Amongst the younger generation of missionaries he opened the eyes of many who had never before seen beyond the confines of their own parish or their own denomination. Some came away from a conversation with him treading on air in the delight of their inspiration. Their metanoia—was it inebriation, hypnotism, or revelation? Yet there was nothing of the intoxicating about him—or if there were, would that it might be the world's intoxicant. Neither was he psychic or hypnotic, certainly not in intention—he spoke out of the richness and the beauty of his mind. At any rate the revelation brought a lasting change of mind to many, who date their conversion from their meeting with the greatest soul they ever knew. "Sometimes a man is endowed with this same gift—a beautiful way of doing things, an instinctive generosity, consideration and tranquillity. This is the gracious man, . . . and when the disciples recalled their Master it was this elevation of nature and compelling grace which dwelt in their memories."[1] None would have been more disturbed than Richard at comparison with his Master and Saviour, but it is "this elevation of nature and compelling grace" which dwells in the memories of his friends.

Naturally gifted, he yet, like other men, had to struggle to attain and maintain. The springs of his character might easily have run to waste and destruction. They had to be controlled and directed, and rarely burst the banks. Anger,

[1] Peabody's *Jesus Christ and the Christian Character*, p. 194.

hatred, revenge—these may not have been beyond him, but he put them beyond. As Confucius has wisely said: "Only the really good can be trusted with love and hatred." Though he was often embarrassed, hindered, thwarted by circumstances, or by smaller "practical" men, he was rarely petulant or annoyed, and anger melted away in the warmth and graciousness of his spirit.

Late in life, driven home by ill health, his days came to an end in a London suburb. It meant little to him that he should set out on the great adventure from his native land "unwept, unhonoured and unsung" save by a few who gathered at the chapel ere his body became ashes. Had he died in China his funeral would have been the greatest of any foreigner who has ever lived in that land. But—he is not dead; he lives in memories and lives and deeds of men and women who carry the torch they lighted at his. He sees of the travail of his soul and—I can still hear his deprecating musical laugh.

CHAPTER II

EARLY LIFE IN WALES

WHAT is the dominating factor which produces human greatness? It cannot be the physical environment of mountain or of plain, for great men have come from both, from lowland as from highland. Nor can it be mere early intellectual environment, for some have risen from undistinguished homes, as others, born and brought up with every intellectual stimulus, despite laudable ambition and effort, have failed to achieve. Nor yet can it be mere heredity—unless it take the form of a "sport"—for other offspring of the same parents, indeed the parents themselves, are only made visible by reflected glory. Is the great man he who is leader of the common crowd? That would indeed be degrading the ideal, as the long list of forgotten kings, presidents and prime ministers proves. How often is the leader of to-day the rejected of to-morrow! Nor is he necessarily the great man who sees his efforts crowned with success, for such crowns fit easily the heads of mediocrity, and failure often lopes and bays at the heels of the truly great.

There are few missionaries living whose lives are not worthy of record, and not one such record need be dull, though the repetition of them might be! One of our principal missionary secretaries once told me that from boyhood he had always reverenced a missionary and that later his official contact with missionaries had only deepened his esteem—a remarkable testimony. Nevertheless, in the mission field, as in the political, literary, scientific and every other field, there are few great men. Cheery plodders, "coolie" missionaries, and proud to be so, we are numbered by the hundred and the thousand, but leaders and great leaders are few, as in every other line of life.

If, as is generally assumed, to be born and bred in the

country is better than to be born in the town, and if to be born among the hills makes for stalwartness above that of the plains, then Timothy Richard was fortunate. If, in addition, there is such a thing as national spiritual inheritance, then he was doubly blessed, for he was a Welshman of the purest breed and finest type. He embodied the very soul of Wales, imaginative yet practical, enthusiastic yet self-controlled, deeply religious yet broad-minded, a son of the village chapel, yet entirely catholic. If those are Welsh national characteristics, Timothy Richard was the greatest ambassador of Wales to China and the Far East. With a distinction and a charm, unique even in Wales, he bore himself to the end the most handsome, most attractive and most influential representative of tiny Wales to the largest nation on earth, containing nearly one-fourth of the world's population.

Born in 1845, his home was in a small village of Caermarthenshire. Ffaldybrenin, or King's Fold, was its name, probably because of the tradition that Llewellyn, last of the Welsh princes, hid there from the pursuit of King Edward. Tanyresgair, the farm on which he was born, lay two miles from an old Roman road, and four miles away was a spot where seventeen centuries before the Romans had worked gold mines.

Generations of blacksmiths and farmers of simple life and honourable character lay behind him, an ancestry hard to improve upon. From these he inherited his strength of body and of mind. He was the youngest of nine children, and his parents were the youngest in their respective families, another instance that genius is not bound by the law of primogeniture.

It is only in modern times that the Welsh have adopted surnames. Even in Yorkshire until the present generation a man's surname was rarely used, but in Wales, as among the Manchus who governed China, personal names rather than surnames were the rule. When the Manchu ruler wished to ennoble the ancestors of Timothy Richard, their differing names were therefore no puzzle to the Manchus. Not so was it with the Chinese, whose surnames are from most ancient times. Consequently he described his father

as Timothy Richard, his grandfather as Richard, and his great-grandfather as David Jones. His father was a secretary and deacon of two Baptist churches, Bethel and Salem, and of a mind and conversation that made him a friend of Professor Rowland Williams of St David's College.

His mother's people were farmers of Llethercoch and supporters of the Baptist church at Aberduar, near Llanybyther. The Rev. Kilsby Jones in his *Welsh Worthies* wrote of her that he never met her equal for gentleness and sweetness of disposition, nor her match in the making of pancakes, a combination of Mary and Martha hard to surpass in a wife and mother.

The accidents of his boyhood, depicting as they do the life he lived, are best told in his own words:

" My childhood, passed on the farm, though in the main uneventful, was not without the accidents that usually befall boys of a more or less adventurous spirit. One of the first I remember was putting my shoulder out of its socket. It was arranged that I should be driven to see the doctor, who lived five miles away. When the gig was being brought round, I was so excited by the prospect of the drive and the interview with the doctor that I ran to the door. But the floor was very uneven, and I stumbled and fell with a crash to the ground. The others were alarmed, thinking I had made matters worse. But I jumped up and laughed, and they discovered that the fall had put my shoulder back into the socket. I was keenly disappointed, however, to find I had done myself out of the ride and the visit to the doctor.

" Between my eyebrows there is a scar I have carried all my life, that has branded me with the letter T, which might stand for my name Timothy. People have often asked how I got it. When I was about four years old, I was one day in a field with one of my cousins, who was ploughing. After a time he left the plough to fetch something. I thought it a fine opportunity and took hold of the plough, calling out to the horses. Off they started, and on they went till the plough grated against a stone which turned up and struck me between the eyebrows. Another time, when

I was about eight years old, I was keeping watch over my father's horse, which was grazing near the hedge, in order to prevent him from eating any of the corn. The field was about ten feet above the level of the road on the other side of the hedge. I attempted at the same time to learn my school task for the next day, and when the horse began to take a mouthful of corn I gave him a blow with my grammar book; instantly he gave me a kick which sent me flying right through the hedge and down into the ditch of the road below. Happily there was no further damage than a good deal of bleeding and a permanent scar.

"On another occasion, when I was about twelve, my brother Joshua had gone with a cart and two horses to bring coal from the coal-pits, over twenty miles away. I was sent with an extra horse to meet him, as there was a steep hill to climb. After attaching the third horse, I was allowed to drive them up the hill, while my brother talked with other carters who had been to fetch coal with him. With a fresh horse I soon gained upon other carts ahead of us, and drove up the steep hill for more than a mile. The road then turned suddenly down on the other side. Instead of waiting for my brother to come up, I went boldly on. But in going downhill the fresh horse began to pull, and made it difficult for the shaft horses to keep back the ton load. I went up to the fresh horse to check him, and then I was obliged to go back to the others, but no sooner had I left the front horse than he began pulling again. Thus the horses went from walking to trotting, and I knew that trotting down a steep hill with a heavy load was most dangerous. Seeing a tree in the hedge, and finding I would not be able to keep up with the horses and guide them, I jumped into the hedge, caught hold of the tree, and let the horses rush past me. Now at the bottom of the hill was a river, and about a quarter of a mile beyond there was a village whence the people could see the horses tearing down the hill at a terrible rate. They expected some dreadful accident to happen both to cart and beasts. But to the astonishment of all, the fresh horse, in a marvellous way, got loose at the river and ran on and on with the traces dangling

about him till he was stopped by the villagers, while the other two horses stood quietly in the river with the cart. Nothing was wrong, one lump of coal only having been thrown out."

He attended a day school connected with a Congregational chapel built in one of the fields of his father's farm. There he remained till he was fourteen, when he seems to have spent a year in farm work. In this occupation his father wished him to continue, but his mother and brothers supported his earnest desire for further education. He promised his father if he would help him one year more that he would not ask for aid, but support himself, a promise which he honoured. So at fifteen he was sent to a school kept by a cousin twenty miles away. A year later he became teacher in a mining village, teaching the children in the daytime and the miners in the night school. With the money thus earned he paid for further training in a Grammar School at Llanybyther, where also he was not infrequently left in charge of the school during the master's absence. Soon afterwards he took charge of a school at New Inn, and then with his savings supported himself at the Swansea Normal School.

His brother Joshua, who had remained at the farm, also wished to improve his own education, and Timothy, being familiar with every kind of farm work, generously agreed to take his brother's place on the farm during the winter so that he might go to school. Not long afterwards, while still only eighteen, he became master of an endowed school at Conwil Elvet, which rapidly prospered under his care till he had one hundred and twenty pupils to control. His method of dealing with the bad boy of the school is indicative of that strain in his character which stood him in good stead throughout his life in China. Always believing the best of everyone, he sought to educe it, which is really the chief element in education. This boy of twelve was

" always quarrelling with the other children. The more he was punished the worse he became. One day I determined to try a new method of dealing with him. I told him to remain

behind after the school was dismissed in the afternoon. His first look at me was one of defiance, as if to show that he did not care how much I punished him. I began the interview by asking why he was so often quarrelling with the other boys. He replied that it was because they were all unkind to him.

"'Is there not one in the school that is good to you?' I asked.

"'Yes, there is one boy who is friendly to everybody. He is always kind to me,' replied the boy.

"'I am glad to hear that,' I said, 'for I believe that if you make up your mind to be good to everyone in the school, no matter what is done to you, you will find everyone friendly with you, just as they are with that other boy. Now I want you to promise me that you will try this experiment for a week. Do not tell anyone of it, and I will not tell anyone. It will be a secret between you and me and God. Will you promise for a week to try and be friendly with all of them?'

"I saw the boy's face soften, and he said he would try. 'Very well,' I said, 'we will say no more about it for a week, and then you can come and report to me how the plan has worked.'

"From that time the boy's character seemed to have completely changed. He became one of the most cheerful and lovable boys in the school, and if ever I wished a boy to go on a message, his hand would always be first up to volunteer."

It was during the great revival of 1858–1860 that he first experienced that "change of outlook" which transforms an old world into a new and larger one, which gives a new direction to thought and will, and which introduces a power and joy into the heart that it has never known before. Revivals have their critics, and no one doubts that extravagant emotionalism may have unfortunate reaction, but most of the effectual moral and spiritual workers of the past have been the offspring of a revival of some kind or other. The revival in which China's future missionary was reborn "swept almost like a prairie fire over America, North

Ireland, Wales, Scotland, Norway and Sweden." He might have added the north of England as well.

Having publicly confessed his faith, he was baptized in the river near his home. A Baptist he became, and a Baptist he remained to the end of his days; though he early grew to the opinion that this distinguishing rite, whether regarded as principle or mode, need form no barrier to corporate reunion with Pædobaptists.

It was soon after his conversion, when fifteen or sixteen years old, that he received his first impulse towards the mission field. The sermon was " not particularly missionary in character." It was from the text, " Obedience is better than sacrifice," but on the " way home from Salem Chapel, I told my brother Joshua, who was four years my senior, how during the whole sermon I had felt as if a voice had been commanding me to go abroad as a missionary. He wondered at it, for no such idea had been conveyed to his mind."

In 1865 he entered the Haverfordwest Theological College in Pembrokeshire. While there he joined with the other students in demanding a change in the curriculum by the substituting of modern languages in place of Greek and Latin, the introduction of universal history in addition to that of Europe, and the teaching of the results of scientific knowledge " as more useful than barren metaphysical and theological studies." Willing to be martyrs for their faith, these youthful reformers were ready to be expelled rather than yield, so the heads of the colleges became the real sufferers, and arranged for the teaching of subjects other than their own. Fifteen years later when he visited his Alma Mater he found that the new studies had been abandoned in favour of the old, probably on the general principle that students exist for the sake of their tutors!

Dr Richard speaks highly of the college staff, the President, Dr Davies, being " one of the ablest theologians in Wales," while Dr Rouse, a gold medallist of London University, and returned missionary from India, was the Classical Professor. At Haverfordwest Richard won the Hebrew prize.

A fellow-student named Chivers was generally bracketed with him in the examination list. Thirty years later Richard

was passing through New York on his way back to China when he heard of, and went to, a Baptist minister's fraternal. The speaker was a Dr Chivers, who described his work among the young people in the northern and southern states. On his returning to his seat Richard put his hand on his shoulder and asked if he remembered Timothy Richard. With delight Chivers introduced his old college rival to the meeting, and there in the great city of America these two men from a tiny place in Wales told of the work they had been led to do, one amongst the Baptist youths in America, the other among millions of students in China.

While at Haverfordwest Richard had two calls to home churches, but his spirit was reaching out away beyond the beloved hills and homes of his native land to the wider world with its thousand millions of people who had not yet heard of the inspiring and saving message of the Christ. This love for the millions was destined to grow with the years, till he would think in millions, speak of millions, write of millions. Marco Polo in the thirteenth century served the Emperor, Kublai Khan, for nearly twenty years in China and travelled over much of that country as a mandarin. On his return to Venice his conversation was so full of " millions " that his nickname became " Messer Millione." In like manner Timothy Richard became the Messer Millione of our own day. As the people of Venice vigorously discounted the stories of Marco Polo, only in our day proved true, so smaller minds failed to understand Richard. They could only think parochially or see individually, and, perhaps happily for themselves, never visualized the teeming millions of the country as he did, or they might have retired daunted from the fray.

It was in 1868, while still at college, that he resolved to go to China. Mrs Grattan Guinness pleaded the cause of the China Inland Mission, founded two years before. Deeply impressed by its self-sacrificing and heroic programme, as expounded by Mrs Guinness, he offered to join that mission, but they advised him to apply to the Baptist Missionary Society. This he did, desiring to be sent to North China. On being asked by the Committee why he

wished to go to North China, he replied that as the Chinese were the most civilized of non-Christian nations, they would, when converted, help to carry the Gospel to less advanced nations, and that working in the north temperate zone Europeans could stand the climate, while the natives of North China, after becoming Christians, could convert their fellow-countrymen all over the empire. Thus, in his youth, before he leaves college, we find the same quality of mind that marks his career through life, the large view together with a method of attainment. The method may not always have been the best, but he never had any vision without its accompanying scheme for realization. Who will dare to say that North China will not yet convert China and that China will not help to convert the world ? There was not a Protestant mission in existence in the north when I was born, yet it is there that already the demand for an independent self-governing Chinese church has arisen, and met with a response throughout the republic. The 1922 great Conference in Shanghai has decided that the next Conference, to be held in ten years, shall consist of a majority of Chinese and a minority of foreign missionaries, though previous Conferences have had but few Chinese representatives. Thus is Richard's youthful vision being realized at a pace even he would have considered incredible.

Just before sailing he was asked to pledge himself not to marry for two years. To him it seemed as risky to take a wife into the interior of China as to take one to the equally unknown wilds of Africa. But he declined to bind himself, saying that whether he married in ten days or ten years would depend on what seemed best for the work. Actually it was nine years before he married.

" In the spring of 1869," he says, " I was accepted for China by the Baptist Missionary Society. In the Pembrokeshire church where I had often preached was a man named Rees, who used to drive me the fifteen miles back from church into Haverfordwest. He and his wife, intimate friends, were very impressed on hearing I was going to China. Our friendship had been so real that they pledged

themselves that so long as they had any money to spare they would share it with me. Our parting took place in silence and tears."

On 17th November 1869 he sailed from Liverpool in the *Achilles* of the Blue Funnel (Holt's) Line. His father had come to see him off, but the son was concerned about his father being left alone in a strange, busy city, so he decided to see him off home by train before himself going on board. Two other incidents are indicative of his generous spirit. At the little hotel where he stayed an emigrant to America was in distress over a money order that would arrive too late. Richard lent him the amount and the man departed. It was not the " confidence trick," for the money order arrived next day, but as Richard had omitted to find out the name of the sender, the Post Office refused payment and the British Government, not Richard, benefited by the amount. The other case was a loan to a doctor on board, which was promptly refunded on reaching Shanghai. These instances of generosity out of a youth's meagre purse are indicative of his life-long spirit.

That fine achievement, the Suez Canal, which halved the distance to the East, was opened the very day that he sailed, but as it was not then deep enough for " vessels of a large tonnage " to pass through, vessels which now seem insignificant, the *Achilles* had to follow the course of its predecessors round the Cape of Good Hope.

When the *Achilles* arrived at Hong-Kong the Rev. George Moule, afterwards Bishop of West China, came on board, returning from his first furlough in England. He set Richard to work on the 214 Radicals, which form the index to the thousands of Chinese characters that a missionary must learn if he wishes to read Chinese literature. Before reaching Shanghai, Richard was able to pass Mr Moule's examination on them, and it is probably the first and only time that the Radicals have been learnt between Hong-Kong and Shanghai.

He reached Shanghai on 12th February 1870. The Rev. James Thomas, formerly of the London Mission, was then pastor of Union Church. Afterwards he was for many years

one of the London secretaries of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and still lives in serene, though active, retirement. Mr Thomas found Richard at an hotel and promptly carried him off to his own home with that old-fashioned hospitality and in the spirit of the "open house" which is still so pleasant a part of life in the East. There he stayed till 24th February, and reached Chefoo in Shantung on 27th February, where he was warmly welcomed by his colleague, Mr Laughton.

Timothy Richard was not the first representative of the Baptist Mission in China, though he was its virtual founder. For some years before 1860 an independent evangelization society had been at work, with Shanghai as its centre. Owing to failure of funds for their support, two of its members applied to join the Baptist Mission, and in 1860 they were received as its first representatives in China and later settled in Chefoo. Their names were Dr Hall and Mr Kloekers. Later Mr M'Mechan, Mr Kingdon and Mr Laughton joined them, but, as was so frequently the case in those days, disease and death were sterner foes than the Chinese. Within a year Dr Hall died of cholera, contracted while attending cholera patients, and the others were all driven away by ill health, with the exception of Mr Laughton. When Richard arrived, Laughton, the sole representative of the mission, had been seven years in Chefoo. Richard speaks of him as "a man of rare natural ability and devotion." Four months after Richard's arrival that dread disease, typhus, so common over northern China—the "carrier" of which has only been discovered during the late war—robbed him of his only colleague and he was left alone.

During Laughton's funeral service at the cemetery a gun startled the small assembly. Hastening immediately afterwards to the settlement, they received the news of the Tientsin massacre, in which the French Consul, his wife and twenty-one Sisters of Mercy were done to death. Only those who have passed through experiences of this kind can enter into the emotions of the small Chefoo community. The foundations of safety, never very stable, were severely skaken, for at any moment the spirit of massacre might be

stirred along the coast against the tiny foreign communities dotted in half-a-score seaports, separated from each other by hundreds of miles of water, with never a telegraph and but few coastal steamers. A volunteer force was formed for the defence of the Chefoo settlement, but happily the evil spirit of Tientsin did not spread farther and Richard was able to take stock of his position and its responsibilities.

Back from the grave of his only colleague, with but four months' knowledge of the language, and little experience of the people, their religions, ethics, literature and manners, Richard stood alone, facing his future. In fact he was facing China, and he kept his beautiful face towards it, his genius working for it, and his heart beating in unison with the heart of that mighty land until the last hour of his life.

"One who never turned his back but marched breast-forward,
Never doubted clouds would break,
Never dreamed, though right were worsted, wrong would triumph,
Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better,
Sleep to wake."

Such was the soul of Timothy Richard, ever ready to "greet the unseen with a cheer." And, now a youth of twenty-five, he "set to work with greater energy than before on the language, so as to acquire it as soon as possible, for all the responsibility of the Baptist Mission work rested on me, its sole representative. Left entirely alone, my various experiences formed my only guide, and from them I learned what courses to follow and what mistakes to avoid in the future." Nevertheless he was more fortunate than some in that he had fellow-missionaries in Chefoo, and that these included men who were destined to take first rank among their brethren — Alexander Williamson, founder of the society which became the Christian Literature Society, "a gigantic man, physically, intellectually and spiritually"; John L. Nevius, Calvin Mateer and Hunter Corbett. He was a member of a stimulating company such as probably no other port of China surpassed.

CHAPTER III

CHINA IN THE SIXTIES

FOREIGNERS were far from welcome in those days in China, indeed were only tolerated through *force majeure*. Nor need we be surprised. Nevertheless, such had not always been the attitude of the Chinese towards foreigners. In the Han Dynasty, 206 B.C. to A.D. 220, traders and Buddhist monks were well received. In the T'ang Dynasty, 618–906, China's golden age of art and poetry, Nestorian priests, Jews, Mohammedans, Manichæans, Japanese and people of various nations were welcomed at Court, and dwelt in ease in the capital. The Sung Dynasty, 906–1279, was not anti-foreign; neither was the Yuan or Mongol Dynasty, 1280–1367, which indeed warmly encouraged foreign intercourse, as witness the position of Marco Polo, John of Monte Corvino and many others. It was the advent of the brave, bold, brutal buccaneer of the West during the Ming Dynasty, 1368–1644, men who came ostensibly to trade, but equally to ravish and rob, which turned the Chinese against the foreigner. From 1511 to 1517 the Portuguese were well received, but their outrage and piracy soon drove the Court to resist them. Japanese piratical harrying of the coast, Spanish wholesale massacres of Chinese in the Philippines, Dutch invasion and high-handedness added to Mongol incursions in the north, compelled the later Ming rulers to strive for the seclusion of China from the outside world. This policy of the extended "Chinese Wall" was a new departure and was never completely successful, even during the Ming Dynasty. In 1552 St Francis Xavier died off the coast on which he had hoped to land. In 1600 Matteo Ricci, the real founder of Christianity in China, was allowed to settle in Peking. During the first part of the Manchu Dynasty, which ruled from 1644 to 1911, trade increased and Roman Catholic missionaries

had freedom for travel and successful propagation throughout the land. Disputes among the various Catholic sects, and their attempt to set up a papal *imperium in imperio*, ultimately brought about their expulsion. Contentious priests and arrogant traders having aroused the haughtiness of the Court, its ministers and its coast officials, the priests were forbidden to enter the country on pain of death—some bravely faced the risk—and traders were treated with official contumely. Though Lord Macartney was received at Court in 1793, subsequent relations gradually went from bad to worse. The term officially used for foreigner was "barbarian," a term not altogether inappropriate, but one which, accompanied as it was by every despite to foreign ambassadors, was bound to result in strife. The whole position of the foreigner became intolerable. The opium trade—on which opinion was seriously divided amongst the British merchants on the spot—further compromised the foreigner, especially the British. Thwarted, insulted, outraged, confined to narrow, unhealthy quarters, the tension increased, and a rupture became certain. Unhappily it arose over the opium trade. Chinese contumely was the cause, opium the accident of the so-called Opium War. There may be excuse, however small, for the contumely; there was less for the opium trade. Commissioner Lin demanded, received and destroyed opium valued at $6,000,000, without compensation to the merchants. That was acquiesced in by the British representative. Had the matter been allowed to end there, war would have been avoided. But further impossible demands were made and, under threat of attack, all the British community were obliged to flee from the suburb of Canton—the only place in which they were permitted to live—to Macao, the Portuguese settlement, where, through Chinese influence, they were not allowed to land. They had surrendered their opium, been driven from their meagre *pied-à-terre*, lost all their valuable merchandise, of which opium was but a part; the Court and the coast officials refused to negotiate, but demanded complete submission of the ignorant barbarian, even to the horrible tortures of the Chinese Courts of "Justice"—what was to be done?

Reluctantly, and with the utmost distaste, the British entered upon the Opium War of 1840, which resulted in the Treaty of Nankin, 1842. By this Treaty Hong-Kong was ceded to the British, and Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo and Shanghai were opened to foreign residence and trade. One notable feature of the Treaty was that the official contumely and insult of the past should cease, and the conduct of official intercourse be on terms of equality.

In 1850 the dreadful Tai-ping rebellion broke out, which lasted till 1864, cost twenty million lives, and laid in ruin many of the fairest cities of China. The rebellion arose out of Manchu and Chinese misgovernment and mismanagement. Unhappily it became associated with the foreigner and with Christianity, through its leader, Hung Shiu Ch'uan. He was a Hakka, a tribe of Chinese from Central China which, centuries ago, was driven into the southern provinces. His father was a farmer living in a village near Canton. The son thrice tried to pass the severe competitive B.A. examination; failure brought on fever, and fever a dream, in which the Almighty appeared to him and placed a sword in his hand, bidding him go forth to exterminate the worship of devils; he was conveyed to the Almighty's palace, washed in a river, and a new heart given him in place of his old one. This vivid dream undoubtedly resulted from the reading of Christian tracts he had received during an earlier visit to Canton. These tracts he now re-read, became convinced that they interpreted his dream, and went to Canton for Christian instruction. He applied for baptism, but it was not administered. Returning home, he converted his family and numerous others, and soon founded a society for the worship of God. His followers increased, especially in the adjoining province of Kuang-si, idols were broken to pieces and temples destroyed. At first the crusade was religious and not political, but stern Government action stirred Hung's followers to raise the slogan: "Down with the Manchus!" Success turned the heads of Hung and his chieftains. Pure in his original motives, later he gave himself up to dreams and visions, luxury and vice. The movement was maintained for fourteen years by the

skill of his lieutenants, but the Imperial forces, under Tseng Kuo Fan, Li Hung Chang, and Tso Tsung T'ang, assisted by General Gordon, succeeded in destroying the rebel forces, who left behind them only a ghastly trail of ruin.

While this civil war was proceeding, once more hostilities broke out between China and Britain and France. Constant friction had followed the opening of the ports, which was almost entirely due to Chinese official hauteur. At last, in 1856, Commissioner Yeh of Canton seized the lorcha *Arrow*, hauled down the British flag, and took off the Chinese crew as prisoners. A lorcha is a sailing ship with a foreign hull and Chinese rig. This one, like many others, was Chinese-owned, but sailed from Hong-Kong under British licence. The seizure of ship and men was a breach of the Treaty of Nankin, but it was only one of an accumulation of offences, for, despite the Treaty, the Chinese officials had done everything in their power to humiliate the foreigner. Moreover, they were not without a measure of justification, for the scandal prevailed of the kidnapping of coolies, especially by the Portuguese, and the sending of them on forced labour to America. In addition, it was such ships as the lorcha which principally smuggled opium into China. After war had commenced, the Chinese officials succeeded in poisoning with arsenic the morning's supply of bread in Hong-Kong. The excessive amount betrayed itself and the community was saved. The result of the war was the Treaty of Tientsin in 1858, which authorized the appointment of a British and a French minister to Peking, the opening of five more ports, permission to travel in the interior, the toleration of the Christian religion and other items. A year later the Chinese refused to ratify the Treaty and the war was carried to Peking. The wickedly cruel treatment meted out by high Chinese officials to British and French officers and men led Lord Elgin reluctantly to burn the magnificent Summer Palace, thereby mistakenly hoping to place the weight of punishment on the Imperial family rather than on the people. This was in October 1860, and in the same month the Treaty of Peking, based on that of Tientsin, was signed.

It has seemed advisable to give this brief resume of modern history so that the reader not versed in modern Chinese affairs may have some idea of the apparently hopeless political prejudice and opposition against which men like Richard had to struggle in order to introduce into China that contradiction of all immediate Chinese experience, the Gospel of Peace and of Salvation. Moreover, the Europeans then living in China were not there for their health's sake, still less for the welfare of the Chinese, but to make money. That was the object of their existence. Few of them were married; the advent of wives from home had not yet begun to elevate the morals of foreigners in the Far East. Some were of a high type, who took an interest in the people amongst whom they lived. The majority were honest in business, but they lived a rollicking life of drink, gambling and lust. Not a few, especially the horny-handed, the adventurers and swashbucklers, were brutal in manner and deed. It will be seen, therefore, that in the sixties it felt almost like an impertinence for a man with a sense of the incongruous to carry the Gospel to China. "Physician, heal thyself," should have been the text of Richard and his colleagues, and no doubt they hurled it at themselves more often than the Chinese hurled it at them. Happily for us Our Lord went on healing, even though his own clan refused his ministrations. And happily also, Richard and his colleagues went on with their work in the assurance that "Great is Truth and it will prevail."

All the real development of missions in China began in the sixties. For fifty years a small band of pioneers had been preparing the ground, but it was only in the sixties that, despite a heavy toll of disease and death amongst the toilers, missions took root and definitely started to grow. When talking to Sir John M'Leary Brown lately, he told me that he lived in Peking before ever a missionary was allowed there, and that the first to arrive was Dr Lockhart, who was permitted to settle, not as a missionary, but as medical officer of the first British Legation. That was early in the sixties. In 1870 Richard was among the pioneers who came to take possession of the huge province

of Shantung, a province nearly eight times as large as his little country of Wales, with a population twenty times greater. It *was* an impertinence!

Worse than that—what did he or any of the others really know of the religious views, moral ideals, or actual condition of the people? Not a single European had ever read the whole of the Confucian classics, which might, for anything they knew to the contrary, contain the world's final philosophy of life. Not one had ever read the Taoist classics. Not one had ever read the simpler, not to name the profounder, classics of Chinese Buddhism—no one has read them even yet. Altogether, looked at from a sane and business-like standpoint, we all began at the wrong end. Instead of going to convey an alien religion to China, should we not first have gone to find out whether already it had not a better one than our own? Blest be the simplicity that sought permission to share with others its most treasured possession! As a matter of fact, the religious condition of China is manifest on the surface. Like so many of its temples, it is in a state of decay Its moral or spiritual power has become static rather than dynamic, and what power there may have been is hardly worth reviving save to a new Ideal. Richard, along with his reverence for the old, and a generous attitude to all truth by whomsoever delivered, took with him this new Ideal in the assurance that it would arouse new energies, intellectual, moral and spiritual: nor was he mistaken, foolish, or impertinent, as the sequel will prove, but rather full of a reasonable faith, stirred by an unquenchable hope, and driven by an undismayed charity.

Sixty years have passed since the sixties, and Richard had no mean share in making this "Cycle of Cathay" the most remarkable in its long history.

CHAPTER IV

PIONEERING IN SHANTUNG & MANCHURIA

ROBERT MORRISON waited ten years for his first convert. The Baptist Mission in Shantung had the benefit of his experience and work and also of that of his successors, so that a small church was soon formed. Richard's description of his first catechism of a Chinese convert in 1870 reveals also his own process of enlightenment, for he learnt by teaching.

"Are not all men sinners in the sight of God?" he asked the man.

"I do not know about other people, but I know I am a great sinner," was the earnest reply.

Thus Richard had his first awakening. Well would it be if all "clerks in holy orders" of all denominations were as quickly awakened from formalities to realities.

"I was much struck by the sincerity of the answer and the foolishness of the question, and felt that the man was a true Christian in spirit. *Never again did I repeat that question.*"

The later history of this man is interesting.

"Years after, Mr Robertson, of the Presbyterian Mission, Manchuria, was opening a new station in the vicinity of the River Amur. One day a man from a neighbouring village came into the chapel and said he was a Christian.

"'To what church do you belong?'

"'The Baptist church.'

"'Who admitted you into the church?'

"'Li T'i-mo-t'ai in Chefoo' [giving Richard's Chinese name].

"'How many years have you been in this country?'

"'Nineteen years.'

"'Are there any other Christians in your village?'

"'No; I and my family are the only ones.'

"Mr Robertson was inclined to doubt his Christianity, for he thought it impossible that a man could still continue to be a Christian in the midst of non-Christian neighbours, with no pastor or evangelist to visit and help him. The native pastor suggested that the man should be asked to pray. He did so, and all their doubts vanished. His fervent petition was a proof of daily communion with his Master."

The work must never be forgotten of those devoted pioneers, who were only sappers and miners, or bridge-builders, and who crossed the chasm dividing the soul of East from West only to die. Laughton was one of these. He had bridged the chasm, perhaps the most difficult work of all. The bridge was a frail one. It consisted of one plank, and the chasm was deeper than eye could reach. To Laughton Richard owed his first Chinese assistant. Mr Ch'ing had been theologically trained by him, and proved a splendid helper to his young successor. Till a missionary has a reliable Chinese colleague he cannot cross over into the minds and hearts of the people. There are others beside Richard, myself among them, who are grateful to a colleague or predecessor, even though that pioneer, before passing from sight, may have done nothing but open the way into the Chinese soul by the conversion of a native assistant. Only in a very limited sense can foreign missionaries ever be the evangelizers of China. The best among them may have a powerful and widespread personal influence, but China must be converted by the Chinese themselves, indeed that is the way in which it is being converted. Missionaries have had to lead the way in everything, education, literature, medicine, evangelization, church organization, but even in these things without trained Chinese colleagues there would have been little progress. The day is dawning when all these Christian efforts will be taken over by the Chinese colleague, who will do them better because of his foreign trainer, but also because he is at home in the spirit of his people. "He must increase and I must decrease." So, in fact, Richard and every other missionary could only carry on the work of the Laughtons and be bridge-builders.

In December 1870 his heart rejoiced over the arrival of a colleague, Dr William Brown, an Edinburgh graduate, who proved to be an able doctor and a devoted worker during the short time he was there. Riding with Dr Brown one day, Brown's horse threw him and bolted. Chasing and overtaking it, Richard seized it, but as the two horses drew apart he soon found himself in a precarious position, with hands on the neck of the runaway and feet on the back of his own. Fortunately his weight was still that of his youth and not of later life, or China might have lost a great benefactor.

The restless urge of the pioneer refuses to allow him to settle down at study. He must be doing something. Thus Richard having learnt enough to *pi-fang*, or "parable," his way along, adopted the pioneer's fashion of setting out on a book-selling trip in the interior. A more experienced man, Mr Robert Lilley, of the National Bible Society of Scotland, took him on a journey of 150 miles, visiting the chief towns and market-places of the Shantung promontory. An early result of this visit, indicative of the mind of Richard, was the appointment by the tiny native church of its first missionary. On Richard's return from this trip he reported to the little Baptist congregation in Chefoo that no mission work was being done in the promontory, whereupon the church bravely undertook the duty of sending out and supporting its first evangelist. That is the only way in which Christianity will cease to be a foreign religion, hampered by its assumed connection with foreign politics, trade and "superiority"—an assumption far from correct. Thus early did Richard see the importance of raising a church self-supporting, self-governing and self-propagating.

During 1871, along with Mr Lilley, he made four more trips in the neighbourhood of Chefoo, and one through Manchuria to the borders of Korea. Korea, "the hermit kingdom," was then unknown to foreigners, every attempt to enter it having resulted in the massacre of the presumptuous intruders. Lilley and Richard had an adventurous journey and narrowly escaped capture on the Korean frontier. The German sailing-ship in which they crossed to Manchuria ran ashore and was nearly wrecked. On landing, the

summer rains held them prisoner for a fortnight, even the highroads, such as they were, being impassable because of the mud. The loess soil of the north is ordinarily a light brown powder, but the rains turn it into a mire which accumulates on the feet so that they can hardly be lifted. At last three carts, with two mules each, were loaded with gospels, tracts and bedding, and the two men set out with their two servants. Anyone who has once ridden in a Chinese cab or covered passenger cart has had an unforgettable experience. It is not as bad as being rolled down a mountain-side in an octagonal tub, but at first it feels something like it. Richard started off with a severe headache, which soon suggested sunstroke. The bumping of the cart became intolerable, and the pain was so severe that he could not bear to open his eyes. Lilley took him by the arm and together they trudged ninety li (thirty miles) to the town of Newchwang. There it was decided that Richard should have a dose of laudanum. They had brought a medicine chest, but forgotten the dose book. Neither of them remembered the right dose. Lilley administered a large one, and mercifully Richard did not pass away into Nirvana, but next morning awoke entirely recovered. Years afterwards he read in *The Lancet* that the best cure for sunstroke was a stiff dose of laudanum. To prevent a recurrence Richard next day fastened a pillow on his head. It is difficult to know beforehand what will amuse a crowd here in England. It is even more difficult in China. Once upon a time an American missionary, not having a glass eye, played tricks with his false teeth to amuse the crowd, and with added jocularity managed to turn a critical position to advantage. On the present occasion it was not Richard's pillow which tickled the crowd, but Lilley's sun-helmet. "Look at the man with the wash-basin on his head," they cried.

They reached Mukden, the capital of Manchuria, being amongst the earliest foreigners to visit that ancient Manchu centre. Proceeding eastward they found—a common experience then and now—that brigands were harassing the country. Nor are brigandage and piracy limited to undeveloped

parts like Manchuria. They are far from uncommon all over the country, and not only now during the present chaos in government, but even during more orderly times. Poverty generally, oppression sometimes, are the main causes; though of course there are men in China as elsewhere who are freebooters by nature. Having had narrow escapes from brigands and pirates, and seen the misery, ruin, wounds and death left in their track, I can all the more sympathize with Richard and Lilley. It is not pleasant to be wakened from sleep with the news that brigands are in the neighbourhood. This was their experience in a strange country which they were the first Europeans to visit. Mounted brigands had descended on an inn farther ahead, and the carters had escaped on their mules, leaving their carts and goods behind. He who takes risks with brigands and pirates is liable at the least to wounds and perhaps something worse. Some Chinese are hard to surpass for kindness, others are equally hard to rival in cruelty; some of the worst of the latter are not brigands, who are generally in haste, but the judges of the land in their courts, unflurried and in cold blood.

The Chinese servants of the two travellers were naturally frightened and anxious to return to Chefoo, but finding their masters undaunted and resolved to proceed, they refused the travelling expenses offered and pluckily stood by their masters. Such loyalty to a well-defined sense of duty has been a strength to China in the past, and augurs well for its future. The travellers now decided that they would divide their money amongst the four of them, in the hope that some would escape capture, and they would thus not be left penniless in an unfriendly country. This process of dividing money may seem a simple one to the uninitiated, but money had then, and still has in many parts, to be carried in silver ingots, each as big as a fist and weighing five pounds. Amusing though the idea may seem in England, they actually had to take the silver to a smithy, where it was "heated red-hot, beaten into thin slabs, and then cut into square bits of about an ounce or two in weight." Sewn in different parts of their clothing, the travellers and their

servants smilingly faced the unknown, though their preparations had delayed a start till "rather late in the day" —which may mean any hour after seven or eight o'clock in the morning.

"Every man we met on the road was armed with a pike or an old matchlock on his shoulder. . . . All at once the cry arose, 'There they are!' We saw ahead of us on the left bank some tents, and we counted eleven horsemen moving upwards towards the inn for which we were making. We saw that they would intercept us before we could reach the inn. We therefore turned round and made for a farmyard we had just passed. At the gate we were met by an elderly woman of about sixty, and we asked if we might drive our carts into the yard until the robbers had passed. She was one of the noblest, and invited us to enter at once. 'I have reapers in the field; I will send my daughters to call them in to protect you. I did not know that you spoke our language, or I would have asked you in as you passed before.'"

The brigands were no longer visible, for it was summer, and anyone who has seen the north before harvest knows the reason, nor will he ever forget the marvel of the northern summer. Four months earlier thousands of square miles of yellow earth lay bare to the heavens. The first green glint soon heralded the spring. The long icy winter, when without sheepskins man would perish, was over. Now the tall millet sways its heavy head, billowing in the breeze. Untold millions of ten-foot stalks in closely serried ranks bind untold millions of millet-heads to earth, crowded with billions upon billions of millet grains. Mile after mile stretch the fields, through which a troop of horsemen can ride invisible. So our brigands could not be seen, though the noise of their horses' feet was soon heard as they drew near. Dressed in European costume, the two travellers stood inside the gate. The riders suddenly confronted them ten yards away. The shock was indescribable. "Ah yah! Liao pu te!" Away they fled as if they had seen two devils, firing a shot of warning to their fellows.

The travellers, before starting on their adventure, had yielded to the urgency of friends and each taken a revolver for self-defence, but neither of them relished shooting men they wanted to save, so they thrust the revolvers into a heap of straw and went to the gate unarmed. Soon the bandits, well armed, rode up again. The leader, recognizing they were foreigners, said: "What shall we do? They cannot understand us." He was soon undeceived, and in reply to his question as to what was their business, was told they were selling books. "What books?" "Books to exhort people to be good," was the reply. "You don't mean to say your carts are full of books?" Lilley and Richard each fetched out an armful, opened the gate and took the books out to the brigands, whose fire-arms were cocked but whose "hands were trembling with fear." "They declined the books, as they could not read. We urged them to take the books for their friends. No, their friends were ignorant fellows. They had heard there were foreigners travelling through the country, and as they had never seen any before, they had merely come to look at us"—which may well have been the simple truth. After begging the foreigners not to tell the officials of their whereabouts, they turned their ponies, fired three shots as a signal, and left.

That these brigands had already heard of the presence of foreigners is evidence of the way in which news travels in China. It is probable that the visit of our two foreign colporteurs became known and was freely talked about hundreds of miles from the places they visited, their appearance and clothing being reported at first with remarkable accuracy, but the further the report travelled the more real would the "foreign *devils*" become.

Next day, approaching an important town, Sa Ur Hu, Lilley went on with the carts to find an inn, while Richard remained behind at a village to sell books. Not a soul could Richard see; the place was "like a city of the dead." He noticed also that the doors and windows were filled with loose bricks. Catching sight of some people inside a house, he called to them to come to see the books. After a time a man came cautiously up a side street. He was soon con-

vinced there was nothing to fear and a crowd gathered. Proceeding to the town, Richard noticed armed sentries all along the road. Ultimately he found his companion in an inn, but the whole town seemed alive with armed men. After their evening meal they were stepping out to look at the carts when a shot rang out and a bullet whizzed past them. They kept watch in turn the night through, Richard keeping himself awake by going over every proposition of the First Book of Euclid. At dawn he suddenly aroused Lilley with the cry: "They are carrying off our mules!" Rushing out, they found to their relief and amusement that it was a single mule grinding corn, which in its circuit repeated itself as often as it reached the light, thus giving the impression of a procession of mules. On arising for the day they asked the innkeeper why the people were all armed. He replied: "Do you not know? It was rumoured that the robbers put on European dress. So when you appeared you were supposed to be robbers." I can confirm this experience by my own, for my wife and I narrowly escaped on the one hand the "tender mercies" of a gang of armed brigands over a hundred strong, and on the other the anticipated but unbestowed maledictions of the town they looted. They looted it under pretence of destroying our church, but having once entered the town they preferred its wealth to the unremunerative labour of attacking the foreign building.

The rumour went ahead of our travellers, so that at their next stopping-place, Ling Kai, every inn refused them admittance. Finally, the foreigners remaining out of sight, the servants secured a lodging in an inn outside the town, but no sooner did the foreign travellers appear than the landlord, his servants and guests all gathered to defend themselves in the main room. The landlord protesting that he had not a single room left, the travellers said they would sleep in their carts. This they proceeded to do, but one of the guests courageously and generously came out and fetched them to his room. The night was cold and they found the room delightfully warm, with a fire under the *k'ang*, the brick family-bed which fills half a room in

the north, and under which a fire is kept burning throughout the four months of the northern winter. In this warm room they made their supper and rested in peace. The Chinese are generally kind to each other. This man's kindness overflowed even to " the barbarians."

The people of China have as high a capacity for every kind of culture as any people on earth. Richard believed in them through and through. There are certain rhapsodists who spend a short time in China and then, with indifferent knowledge of place and people, come to the West and declare that Chinese civilization is far superior to our own. These people take care never to live the life of the people, and they show their faith in their own statements by leaving the land of their praise as early as possible. Such misrepresentation is not generous; at best it is eccentric, at worst it is basely selfish. Optimist though he was, Richard never lied to the Chinese about their comparative condition. He rejoiced over all their virtues and their development, but he was an honest friend, and his mind always ran on the future and what it *might* be, rather than on the manifestly imperfect achievements of past or present.

The next stopping-place was Lao Ch'eng, one of the ancient fortresses of the Manchus. Our travellers slept in an inn which had evidently been the jail, as the iron links proclaimed. Surrounded by a crowd next morning, Richard was explaining the purport of his visit when a ruffian with a horsewhip thrust himself forward and fiercely drove the people back. Richard was protesting when a mandarin in full costume appeared by his side. Able to show the mandarin a copy of an Imperial edict authorizing him in what he was doing, Richard was civilly treated and allowed to proceed with his book-selling. Lilley was undergoing a precisely similar experience in another part of the town at the same time. Next morning six mounted soldiers arrived with instructions to accompany the foreigners for their protection. Happily they were most friendly and even helped at every stopping-place in the selling of the books. Both missionaries and soldiers were loth to part when they reached the confines of their superior officer's jurisdiction.

Their difficulties with exchange would only puzzle the reader. At that time the dollar was unknown so far north, silver by weight, or copper coins or "cash" being the medium of exchange. Moreover, exchange varied from town to town. In one place a mere 100 cash were reckoned as 1000; the discount in some places on bank bills was nearly 30 per cent., bills for 1400 cash producing only 1000. Improvement has taken place since then, curiously enough the Mexican dollar, flaunting its red cap of liberty, being the chief agent in this development. Nevertheless the old system of silver by weight is still in vogue over a great part of China, and everywhere it still runs alongside the system of dollars and cents.

The country and fertility of Manchuria made a deep impression on Richard's mind. At one place they came to an extraordinary formation, "as if all the roads had been turned edgeways like the leaves of a book." They were probably the first Britons to set foot on the famous River Yalu, from which thirty years later the Japanese, a people then hardly awake, drove the Russian Colossus. This river divides Manchuria from Korea. "The soft grass under our feet reminded us of meadow-land at home. . . . We passed through a superb avenue of tall trees, with wild grapes hanging in rich clusters from the branches overhead. Pears were rotting on the ground, without even pigs to eat them. At the same time we learnt that only thirty miles away there was a famine in Korea, and mothers were selling their children in order to buy food to keep body and soul together." Then follows a remark characteristic of Richard: "All this distress arose from ignorance of the value of roads and communications."

At Feng Huang Ch'ing, the border city, was the Korean Gate—that is, the gate leading out of China towards Korea. Beyond it lay a neutral strip, varying from ten to fifty miles in width, supposed to be left unoccupied as a no man's land. At that time Liu Ch'ing K'ai, a sort of Robin Hood, had established himself with 600 followers in this strip. The people liked him and submitted their disputes to his judgment, rather than to their own officials, who were few,

often 200 miles away, and as rapacious and *laissez-faire* as the general run of officials. Troops were gathered at Feng Huang Ch'ing to attack Liu, but seemed in no haste to begin operations. So our travellers proceeded to and beyond the Korean Gate, where by a limpid stream, on a carpet of fine grass, they stopped their carts, ate some food and drank from the stream. Suddenly a Chinese appeared, pointed to two horsemen on a distant hill, and warned them they were Liu's scouts and that he and his men were in the adjoining valley. Anxious to avoid complications, the travellers mounted their carts and hastened back to safety.

In Manchuria, except for a few highways, they found almost a total absence of roads. In summer, during the rains, mud made communication almost impossible. In winter, for four months, the ground was frozen like iron, so that communication was easier. But very often river-beds, dry save during the rains, were the only cart-roads, and so rocky were they that carts travelled in companies to render mutual help on the journey. Moreover, they travelled in company for mutual protection against brigands. Farmers found it worth their while to pay these brigands an annual sum for protection, in order to be free from attack at home and abroad. The party thus insured could fly the brigand's flag on his cart, safe from attack. Such was the condition of government in Manchuria when our travellers visited it.

As to accommodation in the inns, if there is anything less attractive than the dirty, fly and mosquito infested, verminiferous inns of Southern China, it is only to be found in the north, where the heated brick bed is a perfect incubator. In one of these delectable inns our travellers slept on a *k'ang*, or brick bed, "with thirty-seven other travellers, one of whom was a woman." As they turned their steps towards Newchwang, on their way back to Shantung, they "wondered how soon the day would come when this land, which in many respects might be said to be 'flowing with milk and honey,' would be properly governed, and the people be made happy and prosperous." That day is not yet.

CHAPTER V

CHEFOO

IT was the universal custom of missionaries in those days, as it still is with many, to preach daily in a "street chapel." This custom no doubt was derived from the methods of the public story-teller, who sits in a tea-shop, under a booth, or in the open air to recite his historical and general stories, sometimes with additional drolleries and sallies of topical interest. Richard followed the practice of his predecessors, as I did in the south, and with similar consequences. He was discouraged by the results, and later found that the native business people had sworn never to enter a chapel. Those who came, therefore, were only stray country visitors, who wished to see the barbarian and his garb.

Now Richard was led to the remarkable discovery that there is admirable method as well as doctrine to be learnt in the New Testament. Singularly it never occurred to me, any more than it does to others in the field, that methods which suited Palestine are worth testing in China. Having no previous training, we knew little better than to transfer our Western creeds, liturgies, services, methods, often crudely expressed, to a people not unjustifiably prejudiced against us, a people who had a religious tradition of their own, and who, moreover, dwelt under the influence of a literature, classical and modern, that commands the respect of all who know it. That such remarkable progress has been made during the past forty years may be taken as some sort of index of the value of Christianity as a religion.

"I then began to follow the plan of 'seeking the worthy,' as Our Lord had commanded," he says, "for I found that they constituted the 'good ground' in which to sow the seed." Here is a method which missionaries might adopt to advantage, especially missionaries of the right type,

those who go, not in a spirit of rivalry or superiority, but in a spirit of unalloyed friendship, ready to rejoice in all that is good. There are no finer or more devoted men in the world than the missionaries who go to China, but not all have the grace and magnanimity of Timothy Richard. Well would it be if a united Church at home could adopt the plan he learned from Our Lord, and send its wisest and most gracious representatives to the leaders of other religions, indeed "to all nations," in all courtesy and consideration, in order to express the Life of Our Lord for the salvation of the world. If this could be done without rivalry and without prejudice, in all sincerity, reasonableness and consideration, would it not make for religious friendship, for mutual affection and for the peace of the world? One could not be with Timothy Richard without imbibing something of his magnanimity and idealism and practical good sense.

Hearing of a devout man living some eight miles from Chefoo, Richard determined to put in practice his newly discovered plan. According with Chinese courtesy he first sent to ask if he might call on him. Receiving an invitation to do so, he went. The man was sixty years of age, a manufacturer of salt, which he obtained, as is universal along the coast, by evaporating sea-water in shallow concrete beds. He received his visitor with great kindness and insisted on their having a meal together while they talked of religion. Soon he took his visitor into an inner room, spotlessly clean, and said: "This is the place where I worship daily." On being shown a Christian hymn-book he found a hymn which spoke of the fleeting nature of this world, and said, "This hymn is ours," adding that his sect used it regularly in their worship. After a long happy day together he insisted on accompanying his visitor back to Chefoo. It seems a pity that Richard did not follow up this first visit: he never saw the man again. It must, however, be remembered that he had been but two years in China, and his knowledge of the Chinese language and of the history of its religions was too meagre for him to take advantage of "that most rare opportunity."

Later he decided to visit one of the fairs that are held annually at some temple or other all over China. Crowds came in procession from surrounding villages to worship; then began the fair. He chose the market town of Sung Tsun, at the foot of Hui Lung Shan, a mountain on which was a noted temple. Arriving there, none of the inns would admit him. Seeing a stone slab in the street, he took his seat upon it, holding the pony's reins in his hands. A crowd soon gathered.

"Do you want your horse fed?" asked one.

"Certainly," he replied. "But where?"

"Give him to me and I will see to him." And Richard, with generous trustfulness, handed over the reins.

Soon a cook with a greasy apron—the Chinese cook's too frequent trade-mark—came up and said his master had sent him to offer a room, hearing that the inns were afraid to receive him. His host proved to be the chief man of the place, his great-grandfather having been governor of a province. The fair was not to begin for a fortnight, but he was invited to remain till then. His host's two sons were studying for the Siu-ts'ai (B.A.) degree. They were intelligent men and anxious to hear about the outside world. The schoolmasters from the villages round also came, and long talks resulted on foreign civilization and religion, Richard at the same time getting all the information he could about theirs. Before the fair he visited the fine temple and spoke to the crowd, first courteously asking the Buddhist priest's permission. On the day of the fair he found the place thronged with people buying and selling. A crowd pressed round him, curious to have a peep at the foreigner. He was literally carried off his feet, but steered for the temple, where he found a vantage point to see and be seen. "The morning was taken up by a series of processions, with music and banners and drums, from scores of villages round, each one in turn going to the temple to burn incense and bow before the idols. The music was an interminable din caused by drums, gongs and cymbals. By noon the last village had paid its respects to the gods and there was a lull in the noise. Taking advantage of this, he spoke to the vast crowd, and

might have been tempted to say "thousands were hanging on my lips." It was, of course, chiefly curiosity, but some, perhaps with another spirit, came to him afterwards and invited him to visit their villages. "This was my most memorable attempt," he says, "at preaching to a vast crowd. I had not then learned that it was not the most effective way of doing mission work." His host with his two sons remained his friends, and always visited him when they went to Chefoo.

Eager to get into the interior, away from Chefoo where the missionaries lived, he made trips to distant towns, and finally fixed on Ninghai, a city twenty miles inland, as a suitable centre. Successful in hiring a house, he speedily found himself facing the hostile forces which for long years barred the way of missionaries into the interior. The landlord was arrested by the Magistrate and thrown into prison. He wrote imploring Richard to save him. The British consul, to whom the case was reported, supported the lease and sent Richard with a letter to the Ninghai Magistrate. He was received in great style, and the Magistrate speedily returned his call; but while he was talking a dozen of the city elders came in by prearrangement and implored that no houses be rented to foreigners. Richard referred the official to the treaties between England and China, and to the consul's letter, and urged that the landlord be set at liberty. Taking possession of the house, he soon found that he was the object of every kind of abuse. All manner of evil epithets were shouted after him, and his gate at night was plastered with filth. Refusing to appeal for the punishment of the offenders, he was much troubled what to do. He might have stuck to his bargain and lived down the opposition, as so many others have done, but—the landlord was still in chains. Troubled over the matter, he resolved to obey his Master's teaching: "If they persecute you in one place, flee to another." He left the city without a word.

Eighty miles south of Chefoo lies the city of Lai-yang. This place he also visited, and stayed there for a fortnight, meeting amongst others two intelligent Buddhist priests and a scholarly man with whom he discussed religion.

There he also met Mr Liu, who took him to his study, where were three books on the table, one Confucian, one Taoist, and one Christian. Replying to the question as to which of the books was true, the man said they were all true and each of them from heaven. One of the books was the Yi-ching (Book of Changes): it is one of the Chinese classics and on it is founded their philosophy of nature, a dualistic theory leading to divination, sorcery, geomancy, and a long chain of superstitious practices. On Richard's return to Chefoo he resolved to give a few simple lectures on physics and chemistry, with suitable experiments, feeling that by teaching the elementary facts of natural philosophy he would be helping to introduce a better science of the universe than that which ruled in China.

This visit, with its resultant decision, marked another stage in Richard's advancement. He had already seen what a boon it would be to the people if they had better means of communication. He now took the first step which led to the foundation of the Shansi University. Going to Lai-yang to teach, he came back taught, or rather further enlightened as to the scholars' need of a better philosophy of God's world.

In 1872 a Shanghai Christian paper offered a prize for the best Chinese essay in answer to the question: "Whom say ye that I am?" A Siu-ts'ai (B.A.) brought his son to the Mission Dispensary in Chefoo to be treated by Dr Brown for eye trouble. Becoming interested in the Christian books, and seeing the above offer, he wrote an essay which Richard translated. The following are extracts:—

"I am like the salt taste in the sea. Seek it, and you cannot find it. I am like the fragrance of the flower. Seize it, but it eludes your grasp. Men think that I dwell where there is form, but they do not seek me where there is no form. Should they by chance meet me they would not know me, but before my face mistake me. He who recognizes me must be a true believer in me."

"That which can be scattered, shaped and killed is matter, but I am that which is complete, all-penetrating, and

without form. You seek me above and look up, but forget that I am below as well. You ask for me before you and hasten after me, but forget that I am also behind."

"Of all things mysterious under the sun the greatest mystery is the Reality which remains for ever."

"I am matter, matter is I. I existed, and matter and I were two. I am the Word, the Word is I. I existed, and the Word and I were two. I am the Father, the Father is in me. I existed, and I and the Father were not in each other."

"I am neither rest nor action. Those who truly believe in me will have the principle of life. Those who love the living God shall become living spirits. Those who do not believe in me are walking corpses."

These extracts are interesting as showing a mystical Chinese mind applying Confucian, Taoist and Buddhist ideas and terminology to the expression of Christian doctrine. They give some indication of one of the literary shrines in which the Christ will yet be found revealing Himself to the mystics of China.

It was not until the autumn of 1873 that he was able to pay his first visit to the capital of the Shantung province, Chi-nan-fu, a fine city over 300 miles from Chefoo, as far as from London to Newcastle. The journey had, of course, to be made by road, and thirty miles is a day's journey in fair weather. Mr Lilley and Mr M'Intyre of the United Presbyterian Mission were his companions. They arrived at the provincial capital during the triennial examinations for the Chü-ren (M.A.) degree. In those days, before the candidate could sit for the M.A. examination he must pass two previous ones. The first was the District examination, for which no degree was given: a District might have a population of anything from 100,000 to 1,000,000. The second examination was for the Prefecture, which contained several "Districts" (*hsiens*), and might have a population of some millions. At this examination, out of some three thousand candidates for the civil, and a somewhat smaller number for the military, degree, about a hundred could obtain the

Siu-ts'ai degree in each grade, civil and military. The third examination was at the provincial capital, the Governor of which in Shantung ruled over 60,000,000 of people. At this examination only those who had obtained the Siu-ts'ai degree could compete for the Chü-ren (M.A.) degree in either grade. The three travellers reached Chi-nan-fu to find 12,000 of the ablest men of the province already assembled, some of whom had been a fortnight or more on the road. Not all the 12,000 were competitors; some were teachers, relatives or friends. Out of the thousands who sat for the civil examination only ninety-five could secure the coveted degree. In addition, there were several thousand candidates for a similar number of military degrees. It happened that, not long before, the civil candidates in Hangchow, Chekiang province, had created disturbances against foreigners. In consequence the three visitors considered it wise to avoid the company of the more arrogant civil candidates, but found themselves able to mix freely with the military candidates. M'Intyre and Lilley returned to Chefoo immediately after the examination, but Richard elected to remain alone and did so throughout the severe northern winter.

While there he made the acquaintance of a lieutenant from Honan. Under his teaching this man decided to become a Christian, and before Richard left he baptized him in the beautiful lake of the city. It is easy nowadays to criticize the risk and unwisdom of such an act, which might easily have been misunderstood, and even have caused a riot; but pioneers are pioneers, and when they cease to take risks they also cease to be pioneers. "The sight of two men walking into the clear waters of the lake immediately attracted a large number of spectators in the north-west suburb. Directly after the ceremony the lieutenant, on landing, while his clothes were still dripping, addressed the crowd and explained the meaning of the rite in a most interesting manner." In Chefoo two other converts were baptized the same day by Pastor Ch'ing.

Richard here, in Chi-nan-fu, for the first time came in contact with Mohammedanism in China. The number of

its adherents are now known to be fewer than earlier estimates, and they probably do not exceed 8,000,000. Moslems are found chiefly in the western provinces, but are also scattered in small communities in all the principal cities of the north and of the coast. Consequently Richard found two large mosques in Chi-nan with a considerable following.

He was not the only missionary in the city. Two American pioneer missionaries had arrived a year or so before him. In these two men we have instances of the effect that loneliness and exaggerated views may have on the mental balance of devoted men. McIlvaine and Crossett were both men of outstanding qualities. The former became an excellent Chinese scholar, and was the first missionary to publish any literature for the Moslems of China. The latter won his way into the hearts of the people by his kindness to them, but both men were unbalanced by their surroundings. At this we need not be surprised, for there is nothing more depressing than to be living in loneliness and discomfort amidst squalid surroundings, endeavouring to make manifest the saving power of the Gospel to an unreceptive people. McIlvaine proved a trial to Richard because of his eccentricity, especially in regard to clothes. Unable to bear the northern winter in his foreign garb, McIlvaine had a fur coat made which was neither foreign nor Chinese in style. The Chinese scorned and abused this coat, so at length Richard expostulated with him. The only reply he received, beautiful though unpractical, was, " We must live it down," a phrase which has comforted and encouraged many a pioneer missionary. Nevertheless, even a devoted man like McIlvaine found himself face to face with the disheartening thought that he had mistaken his calling. Mr (afterwards Bishop) Russell of Ningpo at one time decided to resign and return home because of his inability to speak the language. Induced by Mr Muirhead of the London Missionary Society to reconsider his decision, he later became an able linguist. So utterly depressed did McIlvaine become through his inability to evangelize the people of Chi-nan-fu that he resolved to become a teacher in one of the ports, and let the

Examination Halls Old and New

The old style examinations were held in an area containing about 10,000 cells; each cell was 5′ 9″ by 3′ 8″, open to the weather, and in it the candidate spent about three days and two nights at each examination.

The modern Examination Hall of the Shansi University, showing students at work.

Board send out "one who has truly been called of God." He told Richard his decision and asked him to do him the favour of taking charge of his only treasure, a clock his mother had given him. Richard did his best to hearten him, and after prolonged conversation succeeded, for he finally came to the conclusion that "whatever our theories about life and religion and missions may be, there is one course that appears to me to be absolutely sound, the value of which will never change, and that is to do good." "I got up and shook hands with him," says Richard, "saying, 'That's a rock; stand on that and your trouble will soon be over.'"

Let it not be thought that depression of this kind is limited to missionaries. Far from it. Amongst officials and business men similar experiences have had to be faced, and happy has been the man who has had a healthy-minded friend to stand by him in such an hour and ward him off from drink and lust, the twin devils that have destroyed so many lives in the East.

The other missionary, Mr Crossett, was one of the most remarkable men who has lived in China. Heart-broken over the unresponsiveness of the Chinese, he would pray for hours at a stretch in agony of spirit. A mental breakdown resulted and he returned to America, where he gave himself up to the study of "every kind of erratic religious sect," and was an omnivorous reader of early and medieval bizarre religious literature. His heart was in China, but his Mission declined to send him back, so he worked his way as a common sailor as far as the Holy Land. On his way from Joppa to Jerusalem whom should he meet but the Roman Catholic Bishop of Chi-nan-fu, whom he had known while there. Crossett literally fell on his neck and wept for joy. Thence he worked his way to Bombay, where he visited "that saintly man Bowen, whom the Hindus almost worshipped." Impressed with his teaching, once more he worked his way before the mast to China.

Arriving in Chefoo, Crossett came to see his old friends. Distressed at his ragged condition, they offered him money, which he refused. When they surreptitiously placed some in

his wallet he gave it away to the first beggar he met. He travelled the 300 miles to Chi-nan-fu on foot, treating the sick on his way. "When the few native Christians in Chi-nan-fu saw him, they also were greatly shocked at his appearance, but his return so delighted them that they declared they would share their last morsel with him." He was a veritable St Francis of Assisi with the poor, devoting himself to the beggars of the city, the outcasts of the outcast. Richard and he were once staying with Dr Dudgeon in Peking, but Crossett refused to sleep in the house and would only sleep with the Chinese hospital patients. Every morning at dawn he came to Richard's room, lay down on the floor and discoursed on the religious beliefs of early and mediæval days. Ten years later, when Mr and Mrs Richard were living in Peking, they often invited him to a meal; he, however, refused to eat anything but a Chinese cake he brought out of his big sleeve; but sometimes he would spend the night with them, preferring to sleep on the floor in front of the fire. The Chinese loved him and spoke of him as "a living Buddha."

Mr Michie, editor of the Tientsin newspaper, who greatly admired his devotion, secured and published some extracts from the remarkable diary in which he recorded his thoughts and experiences. Once Crossett gave it to Richard to publish, but Richard unhappily returned his treasure to him. A year later he was staying with my old friends Dr and Mrs John Fryer at the Arsenal in Shanghai, where the servants were all devoted to him. One morning he came down, his face beaming with joy.

"I have now triumphed over my last enemy," he said.

"And what is that?" asked Mrs Fryer.

"My diary was my pride. I have just burned it."

I cannot vouch for the accuracy of the story, but years ago I was told that on one occasion he was brought before an American consul with a request that he be deported as being out of his mind. On the consul asking him in court how he lived, where he had been wandering, and what he had been doing, he heard a remarkable and touching story of loving service of the poor and the beggars, such as no court in

China, or perhaps the world, has ever heard. At its conclusion the consul turned to those assembled and said: "Gentlemen, would we were all as mad as Mr Crossett."

In course of time his health gave way; he was then in Shanghai, and thought if he could only get north to the prairies of Mongolia he would recover. He started for Tientsin on the s.s. *Eldorado*, Captain Payne giving up his own cabin to the sick man. On the ship arriving at Tientsin it was found that his saintly soul had passed over. Mrs Richard, in her husband's absence, did what she could in arranging for the funeral. Richard later had a stone placed over his grave.

"These tragedies," says he, "of McIlvaine and Crossett, and of some Roman Catholic priests whom I knew, were largely due to false theology, mistaken application of Christianity, and an imperfect knowledge of the conditions of success in missionary effort." But who will say that Crossett's life was wasted ?

CHAPTER VI

FAREWELL TO CHEFOO

MEDICAL missions were always a subject of deep interest to Richard. To him, as to so many, they were an essential part of Christian practice. The Master set the example of healing and teaching as well as preaching, and Richard could not conceive of a mission doing its duty in the absence of any member of this trinity. It does not take long to learn how antiquated is Chinese physiology, diagnosis and treatment. Their best doctors are little, if any, superior to an intelligent Western herbalist. Their healing art, like most, though not all, of their other arts, crafts and embryo sciences, has been for long in a state of arrested development. The Chinese stock is physically a good one; its natural health is sound and its lease of life equal to the best. That the death-rate is exceedingly high is not due to lack of vitality, but to the crudeness of their sanitation and to their superstitions. The consequence is that cholera, dysentery, typhoid, typhus, plague and all the infectious diseases have the freest of free play.

Take for instance small-pox. Its name in China is " divine flowers," so called, not because the people have any joy in these terrible " flowers," but from fear of offending the divinity who scatters them. The small-pox goddess must always be worshipped in order to obtain a happy issue out of this affliction. No isolation of infected persons is attempted; indeed, they mix with other people as usual, for, like measles, one is pretty sure to take it sooner or later, and if one takes it and survives, immunity follows. In those days a pock-marked young woman was really more valuable in the marriage market than an unmarked one, for at any rate small-pox would not put the husband to the cruel expense of burying her and marrying another. So terrible were the effects of this disease that in many places at times half the

people perished, and, especially in the north of China, pockmarked faces were everywhere.

Richard tells the story of a philanthropic Chinese, a story which shows what is so commonly the influence of medical missions. On his way back from Chi-nan-fu to Chefoo he called to visit his friend Mr M'Intyre, who had succeeded in securing a foothold in the great commercial centre of Wei-hsien, the home of numerous wealthy families, many of their members being officials in various parts of the empire. While there he learned two things: one, the intense hostility of the officials to missions; the other, that amongst non-Christians some very devout people were to be found. That the latter fact should have come as a revelation is indicative of the general ignorance of China which prevailed among even the best people of his faith and race. It is to Richard's credit that so early he discovered and stood forth as the advocate of the goodness of many not of his own religion. It is still one of the world's great evils that no other subject so blinds the eyes of good men, or produces so much prejudice, distrust, disdain and misrepresentation, as does religion. One of the outstanding characteristics of Timothy Richard was that he cultivated a generous mind towards all good men of whatsoever faith, and became indeed a pioneer of this spirit in China. For this generosity he naturally had to suffer distrust and misrepresentation, but, troubled though he might be over the uncharitableness of others, his faith in his mission and his courage in carrying it out never faltered.

Returning to the question of small-pox and its connection with missions, M'Intyre had no sooner rented a small house in Wei-hsien than the whole city rose against him. At the height of this upheaval, "one of the gentry of the place, a veritable Cornelius, a devout man, full of good works," came and told him not to be alarmed as he would stand by him. It appeared that this man, some years before, had heard of the arrival in Peking of a foreigner (Dr Lockhart) who was said to be able to prevent small-pox. He decided to make the ten days' journey to Peking in order to interview him. There he was welcomed and taught how to vaccinate.

In those days vaccination was from arm to arm; so he engaged two women in Peking to bring their vaccinated children to Wei-hsien, and from their pustules he began at once to vaccinate his friends and neighbours, a process which he maintained, vaccinating people daily gratis. In acknowledgment of their esteem the people collected funds and put up a handsome tablet in his house. On hearing now that this respected fellow-townsman was standing by the foreigner, they threatened to pull down the tablet. "I did not inoculate you to get a tablet from you," he indignantly said to them. "You are quite welcome to take it down. I wish to tell you that you are mistaken about the foreigners; whatever good I have been able to do in the prevention of small-pox I learnt from the kindness of Dr Lockhart, the missionary; and I know that this missionary also has no other motive than to do good; therefore I must do all in my power to befriend him." Richard was keenly interested in this story, and obtained an invitation to see him. On finding he had read the New Testament, he was desirous to learn what impression that book had made on a good Chinese. I can picture him as he put his typically "Richard" question, his voice vibrant and his face expectant of the answer, "What impressed you most when you read it?" Considering for a few moments, the man made the remarkable reply, "Perhaps the most wonderful thought was this—that a man may become the temple of the Holy Ghost."

In the meantime Dr Brown was building up an excellent work in Chefoo, and was training four students and translating a medical work. Richard tells of an evening when Mr Margary of the Consular Service, Mr Lilley and himself dined with Dr Brown. Margary soon afterwards set out on his famous journey across China to Burma, in order to escort a British mission back into China. Margary met the mission in February 1895, and was escorting it back, as arranged, when rumours reached him which sent him on ahead of the party in order to reconnoitre. He was immediately set upon and murdered at Manwyne, the first town in Chinese territory, and it was only prompt action that

carried the mission back to safety in Burma. That the murder was officially instigated was universally believed. After prolonged negotiation the " Chefoo Convention " was agreed to, and the Government sent a mission of apology to England; four new ports were also opened to foreign trade, amongst which was Wenchow, where I lived for a quarter of a century. Mr Margary's sisters told me, forty years after the event, that their brother wrote to them as he was travelling towards Burma, telling them that while alone on his journey he had sought and found God.

Richard and Brown, along with one of the latter's assistants, set off on a tour of healing and preaching. Shantung offers several modes of progress besides walking. In some parts the canals are navigable for long distances, and probably no country in the world has a greater variety of man-power boats than China. The most striking is the foot-boat, in which the boatman steers and sails or paddles with his hands, rows with his feet, and even cooks his food and eats it while the boat is progressing. But on land journeys are made in three principal ways. In the south, and sometimes in the north, there is the sedan-chair. In the north, in addition to this, there is riding on horseback or on mules, donkeys or camels, or of progressing by man-strength on a wheelbarrow, sometimes aided by a sail. But the conveyance *par excellence* in the north is the two-wheeled springless mule-cart, whose body, roof, shafts and wheels are most solidly built to resist the terrific strain they suffer on the roads. To the beginner, as already hinted, it seems the most perfect bumping machine ever devised. Still another method is the *shen-tzu*, or palanquin, slung high between two mules driven tandem. This was the mode our travellers adopted. They had an inspiring trip, Dr Brown's medical services winning the confidence of the people wherever they went. At one place, though the two travellers, with their attendants and muleteers, practically filled the inn, the landlord absolutely refused to take any pay, and on being pressed said: " You have come here giving medicine free to our people, it would be wrong for me to charge you for the night's lodging. Besides, do you not remember me ? "

It appeared that the previous year he had had a long conversation with Richard, and had learnt much from him about religion and the outside world.

In April 1874 Richard was again left the sole representative of the Baptist Missionary Society in China. Through "the imperfection of human appreciation and foresight" the Society lost the services of Dr Brown, who became an honoured professor in the University and an able practitioner in the town of Dunedin, New Zealand.

In the early seventies no steamers ran north from Shanghai during the winter, Chefoo harbour often, and the Tientsin river always, being ice-bound. Foreign business was consequently at a standstill and travel difficult, so the foreigners had much leisure time, and formed clubs and societies. At one of their meetings Richard read a paper on "Demoniacal Possession in China." I cannot do better than give his own description of the lecture and its consequences :

"The subject proved very attractive, and missionaries and merchants, Jews and Gentiles, Catholics and Protestants, believers and sceptics, all came, and it was the largest gathering we had had. Beginning with the cases of demon possession cured by our Lord, I then referred to similar cases in China. Men were possessed by evil spirits to such a degree that the afflicted ones would personify different individuals. One day the unfortunate victim would say his name was Li, from a locality some distance off, and would weave a history of that personality, whereas in reality his name might be Chang. When in his right mind he would speak of his home and the Chang family with perfect clearness and in a natural voice, while when possessed he would talk in quite a different voice, speaking of himself as Li. At other times houses would be haunted and the residents would be so terrified that they would leave their homes, and houses were known to be left untenanted for twenty years or more because people believed they were haunted by evil spirits. The philosophy of the matter seemed to be that men and women of weak will were like reeds shaken by every breeze that passed; every rumour

1. A Country Passenger Mule-Cart

2. A Country Shen-tz or Litter Slung Between Mules

3. A String of Camels

1. The difference in comfort between the cart de luxe and the above depends upon the condition of the road, which here is seen to be only moderately muddy. 2. A superior kind is made like a sedan chair. 3. They carry through dust and mud all kinds of loads, from grapes to coal, plus passengers.

of evil spirits and haunted houses took possession of their wills, and swayed them hither and thither. When Christians approached them, and told of an Almighty God to whom the evil demons were subjected, and whose Holy Spirit would come and dwell in the hearts of all who were willing to obey Him, it was glad tidings of great joy to them. Their wills received tonic and strength, and those who had lost their reason became restored to their right minds.

"The discussion which followed my paper proved intensely interesting. Dr Williamson described the use of the planchette in China, especially in the temple of Lu Tsu, to obtain prescriptions for the sick. The planchette consisted of a string attached to a bean, and ending in a pen hanging over some sand in a tray. Dr Corbett described a house believed for years to be haunted, so that nobody would rent it. At last his native evangelist lived in it, and the supposed ghost removed to the next house, where it gave no peace to the occupants. They then begged him to go over and exorcise it. He took the New Testament with him, and called on the neighbours to join him in prayer that God would protect them from all harm, and peace was restored to that house too. Dr Corbett was followed by a Jew, who remarked that the idea of demon possession was brought to Palestine from Persia. A medical man next rose and scouted the theory of demon possession altogether, saying that the victims were suffering from hysteria, and that the explanation was physical. After him spoke Mr Fergusson, the head of the firm of Fergusson & Co., originally a Jesuit priest, one of the best-educated men present. Though married, he entertained all the Roman Catholic bishops as they passed through on their way inland, and he was as devout as ever. He remarked that he believed in the theory of demon possession, and that he had as much ground for his belief as the medical man for his view. He gave a number of striking instances, attested by various bishops, of how even ordinary Christians had the power to restore afflicted men to their right mind.

"My paper of that evening was published in *The Celestial Empire*, and Mr Christopher Gardner, the British consul,

quoted largely from it in an interesting article to one of the home papers on 'The Bogy in China.' After this memorable evening Dr Nevius began to collect evidence of demon possession and demon exorcism from all parts of China, and gathered them into an exhaustive work, *Demon Possession*, which was published after his death" (*Forty-five Years in China*, pp. 66–68).

Dr Richard tells of a Mrs Holmes whose husband, an American Baptist missionary, had been murdered by the Tai-ping rebels in the sixties. She decided to bring up two Chinese boys along with her own son. When Joe, one of these, reached the age of sixteen he ran away and took a post in a Russian store. Mrs Holmes was greatly distressed, and to prevent the other boy, Seikee, doing the same, she sent him to school in America. Later Seikee returned, got an excellent post under Sir Robert Hart, but within three months was plotting rebellion against the Government, and using his position in the Customs to pass arms and ammunition into the country. Discovered, he escaped to America, where he travelled about lecturing on the superiority of Confucianism over Christianity. On the other hand, Joe became a successful stevedore and saved money. Mrs Holmes' son, who became a medical man, "turned out badly," and when poor and in ill health she wrote from America to Joe. He promptly asked the foreign agent with whom he had placed his savings to draw out the whole amount to send to his foster-mother, and, refusing all discussion, said: "Mrs Holmes did far more for me than my own mother. If it were not for her I might have been like one of my own coolies, getting a few hundred cash a day." It is well that people should realize that generosity and gratitude are to be found abundantly in China as in the West. In 1891, when Dr Richard was leaving Tientsin for Shanghai, Joe and his men swept through his house, "leaving not a wrack behind," yet not a thing was missing; everything was safe and snug on board the ship. Joe refused all payment.

In September 1874 Richard again visited Chi-nan-fu. The usual summer rains had made the roads worse than

" the mud in Flanders," and on the way the carters had frequently to leave the roads and drive through the fields. This brought them into collision with the farmers, and in one place only the diplomacy of Richard prevented a serious fight between the villagers and the company of carters. There are many ways of gauging the value of a country's government, even of its civilization, and the state of its roads is one of the simplest and most patent. Some would attribute this condition to poverty, but Richard concluded that not only the state of the roads, but poverty also, was itself a fair criterion of a people's civilization.

In Chi-nan-fu he found McIlvaine in a state of extreme despondency, but was soon to be indebted to him for saving his life. After Richard's arrival, Dr and Mrs Williamson, from Chefoo, visited the city, bringing with them Mr Li, one of Dr Henderson's medical assistants. Before they left, Li was taken ill with " typhus " and it fell to Richard's lot to nurse him. This he did for a month, part of the time giving him chicken soup every hour, both day and night. He says: " I got into the habit of waking up at the end of every hour of the night just as regularly as if I had had an alarum clock in my brain." Hæmorrhage became so severe that there seemed no hope of the patient's recovery, but thanks to his nurse's assiduity he " turned the corner." Soon he became so irritable and anxious to return home that Richard sent him back to Chefoo in the relative comfort of a sedan-chair, with his own servant as companion, Richard himself walking three miles on the road to see him safely on the way.

Here we find one of the secrets of his remarkable power of winning the confidence of the Chinese. He had not to " try " to love them, he simply did so, exactly as he loved those of his own race. How many men could, or would, have devoted themselves for a whole month in this brotherly way to a comparative stranger of his own, much less to one of an alien, race ? Nor did he nurse him in ignorance of the danger, for he had early diagnosed the disease as " typhus," though his description tallies better with that of typhoid. In those days nothing was known about the louse as carrier

of typhus, the mosquito of malaria and yellow fever, or the rat flea of plague—indeed they were the happy days when microbes were unknown! But the deadliness of typhus was well known, yet Richard slept in the same inn, and probably in the same room, with his patient for over a month. One need not be surprised, then, that on his return to the inn he succumbed to the same complaint. Being now alone, he sent word to McIlvaine, who had gone to live in a town two days' journey off, and who promptly set out and nursed him back to health. Richard believed that this attack rendered him immune later, when myriads around him were suffering from famine fever.

It was while he still lived in Chefoo that Richard first came into touch with the celebrated Li Hung Chang, with whom later he had important relations. Li Hung Chang first became famous as one of the principal generals who broke the terrible Tai-ping rebellion. General Gordon served with him, and at one time sought him with a gun in order to kill him for his massacre of the rebel generals whom Gordon had induced to surrender under promise of his own protection. Now Governor Li was sent to negotiate the "Chefoo Convention," already referred to as resulting from the murder of Consul Margary. Richard was then in charge of the medical work, along with a Chinese assistant. Finding that many of Li's retinue were suffering from ague and dysentery, he did quite a typical Richard act by sending a present of quinine and chlorodyne, the two medicines then counted as specifics, to General Li, who sent back a letter of thanks.

Richard was not satisfied to remain in Chefoo. Later it became the health resort for foreigners residing in the torrid south; but from the Chinese standpoint it was an insignificant fishing-town without influence on the province, or, as the Chinese saying goes: "Having it, not much; not having it, not little"; or, "We should be just as well off without it as with it." Moreover, it was then the centre of all the northern missions, and Richard wanted to get more into the heart of things. All his expeditions had been taken with this end in view.

Once again he resolved to set forth in search of a suitable field and if necessary to settle there. Following up his excellent rule of seeking the best people to whom to offer his message, he found that near to the city of Ch'ing-chou-fu, 200 miles away, were certain sects with a large number of followers who were " seeking after higher truth than was to be found in the three great religions of China." This was the type which always appealed to him, for with seekers he felt at home. Consequently he decided to seek them as a people probably open sympathetically to consider his message. There were, and no doubt still are, many kinds of secret sects in China, most of them " religious." Many were also seditious, with secret propaganda, passwords and nocturnal meetings. Because of these, all secret societies in China were proscribed. There were, however, some sects of really religious men who eschewed politics. Their morality as a rule was much above the usual level. Some of them were even opposed to idolatry, and regarded the three religious systems of China, as usually expressed, as insufficient for human needs.

He set out in January 1875 in the depth of winter. Incredible as it may seem in these days, he took with him as pupil a young foreign lad of fourteen, son of a sea captain. At that time there was no European school in Chefoo, a boon which the China Inland Mission afterwards provided. The weather proved of the worst; the first day they only made ten, the second five, miles. A blizzard obliterated the roads with snow, and they had to drive across fields instead of on the roads, resulting in conflict with certain villagers. Within two days of their destination a fresh blizzard smote them; they lost their way, and only after five hours' struggle were they fortunate in reaching an inn and escaping from the terror of the cold and the wind. Other travellers were not so fortunate, for their carters too had lost the way, and several men were frozen to death. Richard and his pupil reached Ch'ing-chou-fu in due course and were happy in securing lodgings in an inn.

CHAPTER VII

CH'ING-CHOU-FU

WHAT sort of a place was it that now claimed our pioneer? He had sought it in bitterly cold weather, and had no home and no welcome on his arrival—nothing but a native inn, the general definition of which may be given as unadulterated misery. Nothing daunted, he settled down for a prolonged stay, and found a city and surrounding country eminently suited to his purpose.

Ch'ing-chou-fu, the prefectural city (Fu) of the Green (Ch'ing) District (Chou), stands midway through the great province of Shantung, a province little more than a quarter the size of Germany, but swarming with almost an equal population. The city is 250 miles from Chefoo, the nearest seaport, and is built on the edge of a fertile plain at the foot of a shapely range of mountains from 800 to 1200 feet in height. The massive crenellated walls of the city rise some fifty feet above the ground, and contain within them about 40,000 people, together with enough ground under cultivation to provide food for all in case of siege. An historic city, it was old in the days of Cæsar, for in ancient times it was the capital of princes, who kept high state and were surrounded by great retinues. Its days of glory are past; wealth and pomp it sees no more; but still it covers a space twice that of an average Chinese city, and the city wall is one of the finest in Shantung.

For a Chinese city its inhabitants are not very numerous, but the surrounding district is thickly populated. It is the head of a prefecture containing eleven counties, each with its walled city its numerous towns and ubiquitous villages, where the cocks crow and the dogs bark to each other in unceasing chorus.

A pioneer missionary to East Africa once told me that on first landing there with Dr Krapf, of wide experience, he was told that the first essentials in founding a mission were wood

and water. Apparently population was secondary! In China the first essential to mission work was a house. Richard wanted one badly, but wisely settled in an inn and made no attempt to find his first essential. As long as he was in an inn he was a visitor. The taking of a house would denote permanent residence and arouse opposition; so he remained with his boy pupil in an inn. Dressed in foreign garb, they were objects of curiosity wherever they went. Some of the more "inquisitive and courageous" ventured to visit him in his inn, but none of the class he most wished to meet. After a time he resolved to don Chinese garb and wear an artificial queue. The effect was instantaneous. "Ah! he looks like a man now," said one man to another, and wherever he went the people were agog to see him. That very afternoon he received his first invitation to drink tea in a friendly house, and began to understand why no one had invited him before. He would have been such a curiosity that all the window-panes would have been broken: a wet finger was all that was needed, for the panes were of paper! Soon afterwards the Emperor T'ung-chih died, and the whole country officially mourned him. It was disastrous for barbers, as the men had all to remain unshaven. Richard "mourned" with the rest.

During his first year, 1875, in Ch'ing-chou-fu he won fame as a doctor, chiefly with two simple drugs. In the summer cholera was abroad, and he successfully treated many cases with chlorodyne, or spirits of camphor. Amongst these, he treated the wife of the Superintendent of Police, giving her a few drops of camphor on sugar every five minutes, and the apparently dying woman was restored to her husband. In the autumn quinine acted like a charm for ague. He refused to be called a doctor, but the report went abroad that though it was difficult to get him to give medicine, when he did he could cure "like a god."

As the result of his medical work the prefectural Treasurer came to see him. Fifty years of age, he had no son, and his friends had told him it was due to his heavy opium-smoking. He wanted to be cured, and Richard advised him gradually to reduce the dose. Richard was devoting all his spare time to Chinese studies, but cheerfully responded to the request

of this man to be allowed to come and sit in his room in order that he might avoid the company of opium-smokers. Richard's unexpected reward came later.

Daily the Treasurer came at ten o'clock, and sat smoking tobacco while Richard worked. He brought the usual yard-long tobacco pipe and lighted it with a foot-long incense stick, of which he always brought a supply. He was a very intelligent man, full of good nature, and Richard profited much from their talks together. The Treasurer " marvelled at the foreigner's knowledge of wonders that were utterly unexplainable to the Chinese." He seems to have been so impressed that he actually invited Richard to be his Master of Feng-shui, and choose a grave site for him. The pseudo-science of Feng-shui (wind and water) has held China in bondage for centuries. It is " the art of adapting the residence of the living and the dead so as to co-operate and harmonize with the local currents of the cosmic breath." The dual Yin-yang ether is supposed to flow in currents, with which there may be no interference with impunity. The forms of hills and of buildings, and the directions of water-courses and roads, all have to be taken into consideration, for improper interference with the current brings suffering on the dead as well as on the living. The business of the Master of Feng-shui is to find auspicious sites and directions for graves, houses, buildings, roads and other things. Artificial contrivances, charms, talismans, all may be brought into use to direct the vital current auspiciously. Any alteration in the property, especially the graveyard, of eminent scholars or officials might dry up the spring of their learning and power. In a country essentially animistic the natural law was carried over into the spiritual world ages before Henry Drummond, and vice versa, for " ether " and demons seem to be almost interchangeable terms. This " science " it was that for so long prevented the development of mines, the laying down of railways and the setting up of telegraph poles and wires.

Richard accompanied the Treasurer to his native village, drank tea with him at the farm near the proposed site, and after surveying the situation boldly chose what seemed to him

the best position, which the Treasurer promptly marked out with bricks. Whether he was ever buried there, and what the effect on his family may have been, history does not relate.

The Treasurer proved to be indeed a friend in need. One day he said: "You are a busy man and should not be subject to constant interruptions from any idler that chooses to come to the inn. Why do you not get a house of your own?" That was of course the very thing Richard longed for, but had not yet dared to seek. He replied: "I would be very glad to have a house of my own, but I cannot rent one without someone guaranteeing me as an honest, peaceable man, and becoming security for me. I am a foreigner. No one knows me. People think foreigners are all bad." "Oh! is that your only reason?" he said, and the subject dropped. Next day, however, he took Richard to see a house and offered to become security for him. Within three days Richard took possession with a glad heart of a house of his own. He says of it:

"My house was built round a little courtyard facing south, about twenty yards long and ten yards broad. My landlord was fond of flowers, and he kept the yard well filled with plants in pot and with flowering shrubs, which he tended daily. On the north side were the chief apartments, which I occupied. They were three rooms, the central and largest one serving as a meeting-house at first. The side room, towards the west, was fitted with a stone floor with flues under it, and a fire to heat it could be lit from the outside. This I found most comfortable in winter. I made it my bedroom and study, and no other stove was needed. The floors of the other rooms were of clay or mud. Behind the chief apartments was an orchard of about half-an-acre in size, filled with mulberry-trees, the leaves of which were used to feed silkworms. The rent for the house and grounds, together with a little furniture, cost me about four and a half Mexican dollars a moon, about £6 a year. (China still counts her time in moons, and not in 'months.') I paid nothing to the landlord for being my gardener. It was a labour of love with him."

The question of food to suit a foreigner is less difficult in the north than in the south, where rice is the staple and flesh-meat generally consists of pork or fowls. In the north a greater variety of flesh-meat is obtainable, not only pork and fowls, but excellent mutton, and sometimes beef. While in the inn he had been catered for, but now, though in his own house, he had no cook, and had to fall back on the native restaurant; or he bought cooked food in the market, which Confucius in his day wisely refused to eat. But Richard had to do the best he could and take the risk of typhoid, dysentery, cholera, or whatever special epidemic might be the passing fashion. He says:

"My food was very simple. Breakfast consisted of millet gruel, much like oatmeal gruel, which my servant obtained outside in the street. It was usually covered with a thick layer of brown sugar, which in winter kept the gruel underneath warm for an hour. A basinful of this cost five cash. I usually took with it a millet pancake, as thin as a sheet of paper, about the size of a Welsh cheese in circumference. This cost only three cash. But I was extravagant in one thing; I always used foreign butter with the pancake. My breakfast, including tea, never cost me more than ten cash, about a halfpenny at the current rate of exchange. My midday meal was also bought on the street by my servant. It consisted of four rice dumplings, each wrapped in a broad leaf, sold by hawkers in the street, and altogether cost less than a penny. My evening meal was luxurious. Instead of taking it at home I usually went to a restaurant. There I would order one evening *chi-p'ien* (a course of the white meat of a chicken boiled into soup and nicely flavoured), and the next evening *yü-p'ien* (a dish of good fish with well-flavoured soup). After this meat or fish course I would order four little steamed loaves of bread, the size and shape of a small glass tumbler. With these I drank as much native tea as I liked, and the whole meal cost the extravagant sum of not more than one hundred and twenty cash, or sixpence. In winter I used to begin my evening meal with two ounces of hot yellow rice-wine,

costing about six cash, which in a few minutes would cause my cold feet to tingle with a delightful glow. After dining I would enter into conversation with other visitors in order to practise my Chinese and to learn the news of the day. By way of a change I used to go to a Mohammedan restaurant, which had the reputation of being cleaner than the usual Chinese eating-house. There they served me with roast beef or roast mutton, deliciously flavoured.

"During the time of the great famine in Shansi cooking was reduced to its simplest elements. No meat or vegetable of any kind was to be got. There was an excellent substitute, however, in what the natives called *gu p'i* (orange peel). On arrival at an inn at noon or night all that was necessary was to order this dish. The innkeeper would then take some flour, add water, knead it into dough, and flatten it out into a large pancake. Then he would take the thin dough between his thumb and finger, snap it off piece by piece, and throw it into a pot of boiling water. After a few minutes these snippets were sufficiently cooked to be ladled into a basin, with some water which made the soup. Into the basin were added a few drops of vinegar and a pinch of salt. The 'orange peel' was ready for consumption. It was always most wholesome and very quickly made."

He was not allowed to remain in undisputed possession of his new abode. A retired official, violently anti-foreign, soundly rated the landlord for letting the house. The landlord called his attention to the proclamation of the Tao-t'ai, who ruled over three prefectures of which Ch'ing-chou was one, in which he had ordered that peace be maintained with foreigners. Moreover, the Treasurer was security for the foreigner. Who was he to dare to set himself against the Tao-t'ai and the Treasurer? The retired mandarin then went to the City Magistrate, who said he must obey his senior, the Prefect; and if his visitor would see the Prefect he would obey his orders. The Prefect in his turn said to him: "There are many foreigners living in Peking, and there is no trouble there. I hear that this man gives away medicine and does a lot of good to the poor; therefore it

would be a pity to make trouble without cause. If, however, you hear of him doing any wrong, let me know, and I will attend to the matter."

Publicly discredited, he nursed his annoyance till Richard established an orphanage for destitute children during a famine in the following year. One of Richard's writers, a Chinese B.A., was one day leading an orphan to this refuge when the ex-mandarin met him and immediately charged him with kidnapping for the foreigner. The scholar promptly turned the vials of his wrath on his accuser, who in response set off to lay a charge of kidnapping before the Prefect. Hearing of this, Richard at once wrote to the Prefect saying that there were mischief-makers trying to stir up ill feeling against him, and asking the Prefect to check these evil-doers. Next day the Prefect issued a proclamation saying that anyone who took charge of famine orphans was a public benefactor, and anyone circulating false reports would be severely dealt with. Thus did the generosity and good-will of Richard secure the permanent foundation of his mission.

He had already studied some of the Confucian classics translated by Dr Legge, and now turned his attention towards the popular religious literature of the devout sects. He obtained a copy of the *Ching Hsin Lu*, or "Record of Devout Faith," a collection of the most popular Confucian and Taoist tracts. A Chinese friend presented him also with a beautifully written copy in two volumes of the Buddhist *Diamond Classic*, on which he spent an hour a day, reading and copying it. Through the study of these books he acquired a vocabulary of religious terms in common use among the Chinese. Soon afterwards he prepared a catechism of religion, from the Christian standpoint, in which he avoided foreign-invented terms, and employed their own terminology. There we have another example of his character and independence. He sought to clothe Christian ideas in Chinese dress. Apart from their names, there are strong resemblances, natural and not acquired, between Timothy Richard and Matthew Ricci. Both endeavoured to appeal to the Chinese from the authority of

truth nationally acknowledged rather than from an external authority which was not recognized. About this time Richard also translated *The Philosophy of the Plan of Salvation*, the first part of Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Living*, and Francis de Sales' *Devout Life*.

It was from Edward Irving's remarkable missionary sermon that Richard had learnt that the right method of approach was to visit the leaders of thought and character. This sermon he valued so highly that in 1887 he reprinted it, and sent a copy to every missionary in the Far East. Dr MacGillivray writes about it as follows:—

"We have in our Library here the first volume of the *Collected Writings of Edward Irving*. That seems the only volume that Dr Richard ever possessed. Where he got it, I do not know. On the front page is the stamp of his name in Chinese—Li T'i Mo T'ai—which he prefixed to most of his books that are found now in our Library. I rather think it dates back very early in Dr Richard's life. The volume is one which has evidently been much read; in several places it has been mended by strips of paper. There are many underlinings, and occasionally notes on the margin, calling attention to special portions. Curiously enough, the first part of the volume is taken up with sermons on the Parable of the Sower. Doubtless, Dr Richard was immensely interested in these also, but the main part of the book, from page 527, is occupied with his discourses on Missionaries after the Apostolical School which made such a strong appeal to Dr Richard. The copy which we have here has on the front page 'To Mary Richard, my dear wife. Timothy Richard, August, 1888.' He has also written in his own hand a full analysis of the discourses. I will copy out here the parts concerning Seeking the Most Worthy which appeared in these discourses.

"Page 457,—'Inquire, said he, for the most worthy. There was to be no stealthy progress by keeping in the shade, but open dealing with the most open-hearted and even-minded of the people. There was to be no preference of rank shown by these people of no rank, who counted

themselves kindred with Messiah, the Missionary of Heaven, and were God's adopted children and honoured ambassadors to the Earth. They were not like the Jesuits to lay their artful toils around the high and noble and princely of the Nation, etc., etc.'

"Page 461,—'Thus went forth the first Messengers of the Kingdom, commissioned to the most pure and benevolent and worthy part of the people, and they approached them upon the side, whereon a good man liketh best to be approached, of kindness and humanity, for it is more blessed to give than to receive.'

"Page 462,—'They address only the immortal part of the people; they confer upon them no news, but the good news of the Kingdom; they touch no interest but the interest of Eternity; they speak of no Country but Heaven, in no authority but the Name of God. Which four things, wisdom to address the worthiest people, entire dependence upon God, exemplification of doctrine, and constant debate with the spirits of men, are surely four of the great principles in the propagation of the Gospel.'

"Page 464,—'Now bad as the World is, wild as its ambitions, hapless as is its vanity, proud as its riches are, and bad as they all are, ambition, vanity and riches, I cannot but please myself with the imagination that there is no clime so barbarous, or (which I believe the more dangerous extreme) there is no region so polished as not to possess a gleaning of worthy spirits to welcome these travellers . . . between Heaven and Earth.'

"At the end of Mr Irving's preface Dr Richard has written with his pen the following words:—

"'The words of Our Lord were certainly spoken under different circumstances from those existing in other lands and ages. The circumstances in Europe now are considered by many sufficiently alike to justify the advocacy and practice of Voluntaryism. But it remains for us to say whether the circumstances of all lands are so much alike as to justify voluntaryism always and in all places. If we do, then cases will arise in which modern missionaries are required to sacrifice much more than the Apostles.'

"Perhaps this idea of seeking the most worthy accounts for his books on Buddhism, by which he sought to win the Buddhists, who were perhaps, at least some of them, worthy in a sense of being religious according to their light. On our copy of *Edward Irving* Dr Richard has written out in full the preface which he actually printed in the booklet he circulated. It is as follows:—

"'DEAR READER,—No great work is ever done without much pain. No high art is ever perfected without much practice. Pains are much lessened and practice much facilitated by judicious lessons. Without them there is much waste and failure. [D. MacG.—This was a favourite idea of his all his life.]

"'In Missions we have very few Handbooks of great value, though early Mediæval and Modern Missions contain most instructive lessons. There we can trace how the Spirit of God led His chosen Apostles to adopt different methods in different circumstances.

"'It is true we have invaluable help in several excellent works published during the last twenty years. But I know of none dealing with the most fundamental PRINCIPLES OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS so applicable to all times and circumstances that will for a moment compare with this of Edward Irving's *Missionaries after the Apostolic School*. With a few modifications which change of circumstances may require, it stands out alone among missionary addresses, like the Sun among Stars, having a marvellous, unique and most blessed effect on those who read it devoutly.

"'Thanks to the generosity of a brother Missionary, I am able to send some copies to every Mission in China, India and Japan. If you find good in it, I will be much pleased if you will kindly lend it to others. Thus we send it forth, praying that it may be the means of much blessing to our brethren wherever it goes.

"'TIMOTHY RICHARD,

"'PEKING, *December* 1887.'"[1]

[1] "What a contrast to the effect of the original oration, three and a half hours long, in Whitefield's Chapel, Tottenham Court Road, as described by Mrs Oliphant! Did Dr Richard know of the wrath it aroused in the L.M.S.? And if he did, would he care?"—D. MacG.

Looking round then for the right religious people to approach, he found that Ch'ing-chou was an important Mohammedan centre, with a Theological College, two mosques of different sects, and scores of other mosques in the surrounding country, each with its pastor. Resolving, therefore, to make approach direct to the Moslem leaders, he sought permission to call, and on the day appointed went to the college. It must have been an ordeal to a young missionary, still imperfectly acquainted with the language, to find himself the centre of a numerous gathering of the college professors, together with the principal mullahs from the surrounding mosques. He was received by the chief, who gave him the seat of honour and refreshments, during which conversation took place in regard to Arabia, Egypt, Europe, and the journey to China round Africa. Then the host delivered a carefully prepared address on the Moslem faith, quoting many wonderful miracles as proofs of its divine origin. He recognized with respect the prophet Jesus and his apostles, but claimed the superiority of Mahomet, as indeed the religious genealogical tree on the wall beside him made clear. It began with Adam, bore the names of patriarchs and prophets on different branches, but on the top branch had an apple representing the Prophet. Richard thanked his host for his earnest address and kindness, and asked to have a further talk some other day.

Taking his leave, he returned home to think over the evidence put before him. He speaks of this visit as epoch-making to his life, and one may well believe it. He had been faced in a rival creed with all the same claims to infallibility which he had been brought up to advance in proof of his own. Others of his day might have considered these people deluded of the devil; Richard was rather led to question the value of the orthodox line of argument. "I realized that the evidence with which I was then prepared to advocate Christianity would be useless to bring forward to the Mohammedans. For every prophecy I could quote they could match it with a similar one of their own, and for every miracle I could mention they could produce a hundred."

The younger men of to-day can hardly realize the

phenomenal change which has taken place in apologetics during the last fifty years. Richard was driven to a more careful study of Islam, and to a consideration of the duty of making Truth its own witness, rather than relying on "authority" not admitted by his auditors. He might well look upon this as a sudden development in his career.

Soon afterwards the Moslem Principal and about a dozen of his students returned Richard's call, when the Principal again delivered a sermon, for which Richard thanked him and asked if he might reply. Permission being accorded, he did so, the students frequently approving. The Principal never brought them again lest their faith should be undermined. Thus failed the approach to the leaders of Moslem thought, save that one old mullah continued his visits, bolstering up his arguments by quoting Arabian and Persian authorities. One day Richard said to him: "Never quote those authorities again." "Why not?" asked the mullah. "True," replied Richard, "they were men more learned than the people of their day, but their knowledge is surpassed to-day. I have travelled through countries they never knew, and am intimate with the life, customs, manners and thought of various races, and have studied their various systems of religion." "But they wrote," said the mullah, "under the Spirit of God, which cannot err." "And I too," said Richard, "write under the guidance of the Spirit of God, and would not have been in China to-day but that the Spirit of God sent me here, a later teacher than any you have in Islam." After a silence the mullah rose, bowed low, and said: "I grieve that I have not listened to the messenger of God." Richard speaks of him as one of those souls whose delight it was to seek God.

It may be remarked in passing that this incident occurred only a few years after the Moslem uprising in the west of China, a rising which had but recently been put down by General Tso Tsung T'ang, with the unrestrained destruction of cities, towns and villages, and the merciless extermination of millions of Moslems. It should, however, be said that Chinese rulers have seldom been persecutors of religion as long as it did not seem to them a political danger. It was

the political agitation of the Moslems which brought about their repression, as it has been the assumption, however incorrect, that Christianity is politically associated with foreign invasion, which has brought about official persecution.

One of his chief reasons for the selection of Ch'ing-chou-fu as a centre was the presence in the neighbourhood of various religious sects. The head of one of these lived some twenty miles away among the mountains. In reply to an invitation to call and see Richard on his next visit, he sent word that he seldom came to Ch'ing-chou, but would be very glad to welcome him to his house. Richard therefore resolved to make a special journey, and to follow Our Lord's instruction (Matthew x.) in doing so. Though the month was July, with its terrible heat, he made the journey on foot. On his arrival he met with one of the most hostile receptions he ever received; not from his host, but from one of his subordinates, who by chance was spending the night there. This man had seen a translation of a medical work giving illustrations of foreign surgery. No doubt thinking it evidence of the way in which "Christians" gloated over cutting up the dead, he poured out fanatical denunciations of Christian inhumanity, and effectually prevented Richard, who was no doubt tired with his hot day's march, from having any reasonable conversation.

Next morning he called his host aside and told him God had sent him from the other side of the world with a special message to him and to men like him, who were among the good people of the world; but after what had passed the night before he judged his host was not prepared to listen to it, so he proposed to depart at once. With apologies for his subordinate's conduct, he begged Richard to stay, saying the man was just leaving. Richard was glad to stay, and "we had a hallowed time together, when we truly felt that God was present with us." Leaving the following day, his host sent one of his servants to show him the way over the mountains, as he wanted to visit others who were "seeking after the highest truth."

Nearing noon, oppressed by the heat, he took his seat by the wayside under a tree. Labourers were passing him on

the way to dinner, and he greeted them one by one. At last one of them asked him where he was going, and on hearing told him the river was impassable, but invited him to the village to await the subsiding of the water. The schoolmaster of the village was good enough to give him dinner, and he remained there, explaining his mission, till five o'clock, when half-a-dozen of the villagers helped him across the stream. It was a hundred yards wide, there was no bridge, and the only way of crossing was to strip and ford it. The water was breast-high and the current strong. He was nearly swept off his feet more than once, but the villagers, who knew the ford, guided him safely over. Greatly moved by their kindness, he was utterly at a loss how to thank them, whereupon they informed him that he had received them kindly, answered their questions and given them tea when they visited Ch'ing-chou at the New Year.

Pursuing his way, before sunset he reached a village where he knew there lived an intelligent man whom he had met in the city. This man gave him a hearty welcome and introduced him to the leading scholar, a fine old man, who had about a score of students preparing for the degree examination, and to these also he was introduced. Invited to sup with the teacher and his students, he so evidently charmed them that the students flocked round him afterwards, each bringing a fan on which they asked him to write. As with our autograph-books, so with their fans, they have a pride in showing the handwriting of noted persons. Richard speaks of it as a general custom, but it is really a mark of unusual esteem. On each fan he wrote a verse of a hymn in English, bargaining that each should write on the other side the translation he gave in their own language.

Next he visited a town where lived an innkeeper who had frequently called on him. Again he received a hearty welcome, and found that a Taoist religious gathering of a unique character was taking place. It was attended by women only. Their object was, as usual in China, not the offering of moral or spiritual petitions, but the obtaining of more tangible blessings, some praying for a good harvest, some

for sons, and so on. They came in streams to the inn to see the strange visitor, and put all sorts of questions about foreign farming, parents and children, religion and so on, which gave him opportunity for explaining his presence there.

With his usual courtesy he called on the head Taoist priest, and having won his good-will, obtained permission to watch the great midnight ceremony. During the day the women brought their offerings, mostly of millet and other produce, which were duly listed opposite the donors' names on long duplicate sheets of yellow paper. One of these lists was posted up in the temple; the other was reserved to be burned before the chief divinity of the temple, so that the names of the donors might ascend on high. Before midnight the women filled the temple, and at the appointed hour the priest burned incense, repeated incantations, and set light to the list of names. Never a word of teaching or exhortation, never a conception of divine intercommunion, nothing but a blind trust or an unquenchable hope. To think that we too owe all our religion to such people as these! For it was such as these who tended the lamp of religion in the days of animistic darkness and kept it alive through ages of tribulation. In a sense, we owe perhaps as much to them as to greater theologians and saints. But to Richard and to most thinking men they were sheep as yet without a shepherd. Some of the women returned to their lodgings, others remained in the courtyard of the temple; of the latter, some continued repeating their petitions, others slept till the morning, probably hoping for an auspicious dream.

Richard returned home, having found the devout ready to welcome, to hear, and to give him hospitality, thus convincing him of the soundness of Our Lord's method.

Two other typically Richard methods may here be shown. The first is his use of existing literature. Now Buddhism and, to a less extent, Taoism have an abundant literature both for the educated and the uneducated. Buddhism has a philosophy which is a test for the powers of the greatest Chinese scholars, but it also caters for the uneducated.

Wisely or unwisely, missionaries have never to this day properly studied this class of literature with a view to adapting it to Christian ends. Richard boldly made use of native tracts, omitting everything objectionable to Christian ideas, and inserting clauses on the worship of the one true God. He also drew up a catechism of the Christian religion. This he first placed in the hands of a devout silk-weaver, who began to commit it to memory. A pathetic scene soon followed, for one day the weaver found his wife weeping bitterly, and on his inquiring the cause she replied: "You are going to heaven and I shall be left outside." The husband then taught her all he himself knew, and the two children learned with them. In due course the two asked for baptism, the first-fruits of Richard's work. Baptism by immersion is unknown amongst the Chinese; hence the missionary was anxious not to do anything which might be misunderstood, especially as one of the two was a woman. Outside the West Gate was a beautifully clear river, with only a Buddhist temple near. Here is the second action indicative of Richard's character. We missionaries have ever been too willing to fight shy of Buddhist and Taoist priests, even to treat them as rivals. No method is better calculated to create distrust and cultivate rivalry. Richard had none of this spirit. He was always looking for the best, and believing in everybody for their best, so that he brought the best out of all the Chinese with whom he made and kept contact. In this case he called on the Buddhist monk, explained to him the meaning of baptism by immersion, and asked him to lend a couple of rooms in his temple as dressing-rooms. The monk readily consented and the ceremony duly took place.

After being in Ch'ing-chou ten months he paid a brief visit to Chefoo. During those months (1875) he had baptized the above two converts and his teacher. Early in 1876 fifteen others were ready for baptism; surely a record for pioneer work. For these he had a baptistery made in his courtyard, and in order that no ill reports should be spread abroad he invited the presence of his friend the Treasurer as witness of the propriety of the ceremony.

CHAPTER VIII

FAMINE RELIEF: SHANTUNG

WE now come to the period when the problem of China with its vast population pressed in upon him, and in pondering over its solution he struck the key-note and found the theme of his life's work. Enlightenment came to the Buddha after his great voluntary fast. Enlightenment came to Richard during the compulsory fasting of millions in the midst of the terrible famine, and he went forth inspired and to inspire.

The years 1876, 1877 and 1878 were exceptionally severe even in a country accustomed to periodic famines. The southern half of China knows famine chiefly as the result of floods, from overabundance of rainfall; the northern half generally as the result of drought. These three years were almost rainless, and the north suffered the most terrible famine on record. It struck terror into the hearts of all. With southern Shansi as the centre, the population within a radius of a thousand li were starving, or in distress.

In the spring of 1876, when no rain came to bless the growing crops, anxiety began to be felt in Ch'ing-chou. Officials and people flocked to the temples to seek the aid of the various deities. A fast was proclaimed from the eating of meat, especially of beef. So anxious did the Magistrate become that, with chains on neck, hands and feet, he walked on foot to the chief temple to pray for rain, immense crowds following him, wearing chaplets of willow twigs and leaves. Within the temple, the Magistrate prostrated himself before the image; without, the people prostrated themselves in the courtyard and streets.

Richard, like a son of the prophets, rode forth on horseback to the county towns of the prefecture, and pasted on the city gates yellow placards calling on the people to turn from dumb idols to the living God. Whether he expected

God would miraculously intervene or not, I do not know. In those days we all still believed in praying for rain, forgetful of our own past neglect, our wastefulness of the abundant supplies of Divine Providence and the brains he had bestowed for our development. Nevertheless it is perfectly true that people who worship dead idols do suffer vastly more than those who serve the living God, for idolatry is a mortmain upon the mind and heart, which are quickened into new life and activity under the Spirit of the living God.

After posting his proclamation on a certain city gate, Richard rode straight to the principal inn for refreshment. Before he could finish his meal pathetic scenes occurred, for deputations of elderly men came and went on their knees before him, beseeching him to tell them how to pray to the living God. Richard taught them in his own warm-hearted fashion, but what could one man do in one visit against a system rooted from the days of the primitive medicine-man in the minds of the people. Later, these placards brought some women, who walked twenty miles on their tiny feet to see him in Ch'ing-chou; and years after some of these became the nucleus of a Christian church in their mountain village.

The drought continued, and with it rose the price of food. Poverty and hunger brought on, as usual, social degeneration and alarm. His diary in June tells of "no less than nineteen cases of robbery reported. Even a boy of twelve stabbed a man who remonstrated with him for robbing." A band of women marched to a rich man's house, seized enough of his millet for a meal, cooked and ate it, then marched to another house. Men, seeing the success of this plan, organized a band of five hundred, who went pillaging from village to village. In consequence, the Governor of Shantung deprived the Ch'ing-chou Prefect and Magistrate of their "buttons" and rank, and threatened them with dismissal. Offenders were thereupon captured and beheaded, or exposed in the "sorrow cage," in which they could neither stand nor sit, till they died of starvation. Daily executions took place immediately behind Richard's back court, until order was at last restored.

Now he began to have his first bitter experience of the miseries of famine. Those who had grain left over from the previous year treasured it as a miser does gold, but the poor had thus early to suffer the pangs of hunger, and make shift as best they could. One day in June when visiting a village he sat down in an inn to eat some cakes for his noon meal. A number of little boys were seated under a near-by tree. Their baskets were full of thistles, green-stuff and leaves gathered in the fields. As they sat chewing their leaves he asked if they would exchange some of their food for his, and they were "overjoyed to get a taste of flour." The face of one of them was so swollen that he could hardly see. This was caused by eating leaves of the "huai" tree (*Sophora Japonica*), which to some are said to be poisonous, to others harmless.

The Governor now ordered the officials to remove all taxes on the import of grain; also to purchase grain from Kiangsu and Manchuria and sell it under cost price. The people were growing desperate. In Lo-ngan a Mr Chiu, who during the Tai-ping rebellion had been elected head of defence over forty villages, was now pressed by the villagers to lead them in rebellion against the Government. Refusing, he fled to Ch'ing-chou; whereupon the villagers killed his entire family. Richard now saw for the first time children offered in public for sale. A woman sat opposite the Magistrate's Yamen, with a wisp of straw round her baby's body as a sign that she sought a purchaser.

On 1st July two Siu-ts'ai (B.A.'s) from separate places prostrated themselves before him and asked to be received as disciples. He soon found that they were a deputation from others who wanted him to take the leadership of the starving people against the Government. Richard told them any revolt would add bloodshed to their sufferings, and advised they should devise constructive, not destructive, methods of saving the people. Two days later a man from another town came to say that the people there were ready to rise, and begged him to lead them.

He was soon called upon to face a serious dilemma. It was his manifest Christian duty to spare neither his means nor

himself in relieving the suffering people among whom he had cast his lot. It was also manifest that any indiscretion on his part would do more harm than good. The only relief he could give would be money, for he had no means of importing grain, and he had but little money of his own, though small sums were reaching him from friends in Chefoo. But if he began to distribute money, stories of the foreigner's wealth and generosity might bring crowds of starving people, hard to restrain from riot. Picture a crowd of thousands of starving people, with one man in their midst who is offering them food—in other words, life. What chance has he of escaping with his own life? He might just as well be in the midst of a pack of wolves. A few years ago a man who was accustomed to give tit-bits to the deer in Richmond Park was found crushed to death through their eagerness. I have known men face the fire of a general's bodyguard in their struggle for food, and heard them shot down as I conveyed my wife out of the zone of immediate danger. Hunger can stupefy; it can also make men reckless.

A woman sat down near Richard's door with her baby in her arms and asked his landlord to pluck her a few leaves from a tree. "Now I feel better," she said, after eating them. "It is most pathetic to see the quiet patience on the pale faces of the starving," he says.

One charitable Chinese threw cash from the city wall amongst the starving, but that only produced a dangerous scramble. A grain dealer decided to give away his stock; whereupon thousands came, and the result was broken bones and dead bodies. The Magistrate in consequence issued orders that no public distribution by private people would be allowed; and the starving people wandered about the streets in despair. Richard had already devised and carried out a plan of standing at one end of a very narrow lane and serving cash only to those who formed up in line. He stamped each person's hand as he received aid with aniline ink. Some scoured it off, passed round and came for a second dole, but their clean hands betrayed them; he gave only to dirty palms!

The second deputation which urged Richard to head a

rebellion had caused him anxiety; indeed he only got rid of its representative by saying he would go to the Governor of the province. Next morning he heard some women comparing his kindness with the apparent indifference of the mandarins. This further alarmed him, as such reports might encourage the officials to consider him a danger to them. He left at once, after paying his landlord three months' rent in advance. About fifty li from home he suddenly discovered an eleven-year-old boy sitting behind the cover of the cart. This stowaway wanted to go to his uncle's in the provincial capital. Richard, knowing the boy's parents would be distressed, and fearing the circulation of kidnapping rumours, promptly engaged a man to take him home. On his own return later, he found his anticipations confirmed; kidnapping rumours were in circulation; so in order to clear himself of the charge he induced the boy's father to go with him to the Yamen, where the father publicly testified his gratitude to the foreigner for his kindness in sending home his truant son.

Arriving at Chi-nan-fu, he was able to obtain an interview with the Governor, Ting Pao Ch'en, one of the principal antagonists of the Tai-ping rebels in the sixties. He it was who barred their way north when they had already overrun thirteen out of the eighteen provinces. Governor Ting listened with much interest to Richard's proposals for famine relief, for developing the rich mineral wealth of his province, and for introducing railways. It must be remembered that not a single line of railway had yet been opened in China. After twelve years of opposition, it was in this year, 1876, that railway construction was first attempted at Shanghai. The twelve-mile line to Woosung, begun in January, was completed and successfully running before the end of the year. The Chinese Government, however, fearing it would disturb the spiritual powers, bought it over in October 1877, and the rolling stock was dumped on the beach of Formosa to rot. In this same year, 1877, Li Hung Chang gave the English engineer, Mr Kinder, authority to build an eleven-kilometre railway from the Tong-shan coal mine to deep water. It was ostensibly to be a horse-power

railway, but Mr Kinder interpreted the term technically! Out of scrap iron he built the Chinese "Rocket," which is now preserved in the Museum of the Board of Communications. Richard's hope of arousing Ting Pao Ch'en to activity was foiled by the latter's promotion soon after to be Viceroy of Ssü-ch'üan province. The chief result of his interview was that the Governor's son, Ting T'i Chang, afterwards became friendly with Richard in Shansi.

Richard returned to Ch'ing-chou. Under the heading 3rd July he writes:

"In the course of our morning worship I read the passage about Our Lord feeding the multitudes, where He *made them sit down*. Like a flash of lightning the secret of sitting down was revealed. A sitting crowd cannot crush."

To one who, like myself, has listened to the thrill of Richard's voice as he told this story, writing it seems cold; probably the revelation saved his own life and the lives of others on many a later occasion. At once he made an experiment. A crowd was collected and bidden to sit down in rows on a large threshing floor opposite his house. He appeared and told them frankly he had very little money, but that they should have it all if they would sit quietly. He would first give something to each person, then go round a second and a third time while it lasted, so that none would be left without. This man, who has been dubbed a mere idealist by some, will prove, as we proceed, to possess eminently practical qualities. He says: "The people were as quiet as if at a Communion Service. The Yamen people stood astonished at the quiet scene." When his cash was finished Richard told the people, and added that unless rain came even the Government could not save them. He asked them all to kneel, and then prayed "to God to look in pity on them." So "thousands of poor sufferers received the little help with gratitude, and joined in prayer as far as they knew."

After the Magistrate had issued his proclamation against public distribution of private charity, Richard received some money from Chefoo. Feeling it his duty to obey authority, he took the sum and handed it over to the Magistrate for his

distribution, an act which greatly pleased him. There was still some grain left in the district, and more was coming in slowly, but its inflated price deflated that of all other goods. Land failed to find buyers at a third of its value, and furniture and clothing ceased to have a price.

Richard's unflagging interest in the suffering people commended his religion to many of the devout, who came from the country to visit him. He gave sheet tracts away to all inquirers, but adopted the plan of giving his catechism and a small hymn-book to those who promised to commit them to memory. The result was that in a number of places the nucleus of a church was formed. When those who had memorized these two simple books came for more, he gave them his translation of that part of Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Living* which dealt with the practice of the Presence of God. His wish was to teach them to look to Him rather than to the foreign missionary. Selections from the Psalms and New Testament followed, which the men who became leaders were urged to memorize, and then to teach to their followers. He also provided them with certain prayers from the Prayer Book for use in worship. Later, as the number of " inquirers " increased rapidly, he arranged for the leaders to come—some of them forty miles—to Ch'ing-chou at definite intervals, to recite their lessons and receive further explanation and instruction. He says it was interesting to note the effect of the portions of Scripture on the readers. Those who had memorized Ephesians became strong Calvinists, " sure of their election to do great work for God," while the students of St John became " lovable mystics." As many as sixty leaders at a time met together. Richard provided them with empty rooms; they brought their own food and bedding. He had separate gatherings for women leaders. In every centre adult Sunday schools sprang up, where the Christians learned from each other, and where they worshipped together. Within a year the " inquirers " numbered two thousand.

His method of work was adopted by Dr Nevius, who during his half-yearly evangelistic tours from Chefoo reached Ch'ing-chou, and spent a day or two with Richard. Dr Nevius was a fine-spirited American Presbyterian, whose

Missionary Method became for a time famous, and is still worthy of wide adoption. The publication of his book, after many years' practical experience, seemed to herald the dawn of a new age in mission work. On his visit to Richard he had been deeply impressed by Richard's system, and accompanied him to his stations to study it. The result was that he adopted it practically entire. In time he formed throughout Shantung hundreds of communities of Christians. Unfortunately they were scattered over too wide an area for proper supervision. His Presbyterian colleagues, able and true men, believing in slower and more solid methods, refused to be moved to a like abandon. Had he lived long enough his work would have matured as successfully as did his fine American fruit orchard in Chefoo. He died, his work was not followed up, and his "method" ended with him, as it certainly ought not to have done. The strength of Richard's scheme lay in his regular meeting with, and inspiration of, his newly converted leaders. The weakness of Nevius's method left his leaders too much dependent on books, and too long without personal influence.

I can speak with much knowledge on the possibilities of this method of work, for before Nevius had published his book I had commenced on similar lines in Wenchow. His articles only confirmed my faith in the system. In my own case it was not difficult to keep in touch with my leaders, and to guide them in maintaining the spiritual life of those under their care. In southern Chekiang there are now over three hundred churches which originally grew out of this method of evangelization by a simple catechism, a few hymns, selected portions of Scripture, and a few prayers, leading up to an ordered service. That church is now self-propagating. Nevius did not arrange for interchange among his leaders. In southern Chekiang each church provides a lay preacher, and a circuit plan arranges a regular interchange.

Further contributions for famine relief began to reach Richard from the foreign community in Chefoo. He consulted the Magistrate, and decided to distribute the amount in a number of villages. Accordingly he sent messengers to find out those in direst need, and to give them tickets.

When he arrived at the first market town at which relief was to be given, he found treble the number of applicants, whose mules, donkeys and cows had all been sold or eaten. On the crowd threatening to become unmanageable, he hit upon the plan of leaving his assistants and himself withdrawing, shrewdly guessing that by so doing he would carry with him the ticketless. Slowly he withdrew to a neighbouring hill. When he stopped, the wretched people threw themselves on the ground before him pleading for his help. Thereupon he addressed them in a parable. It was an elderly woman who first understood it and she explained it to the crowd. It contained a promise to go to the well and draw more water for them. The crowd peacefully dispersed, and on his return to the town he found there had been perfect order during the distribution.

In consequence of his letter to the Rev. James Thomas, then Pastor of Union Church, Shanghai, committees were formed in Shanghai and various other ports, and increased funds reached him. With these he established five orphanages in different centres, each maintaining a hundred boys, and continued his work of distributing relief whenever fresh funds arrived. One of the orphanages he established in a large haunted house. Many are these houses in China, and many are the churches which have been established in them, with consequent disappearance of their "evil spirits." In this case Richard himself spent the first night in the house. Two assistants joined him, but weird noises drove them early away. Richard, however, remained alone, disturbed only by the rats and mice which were the evil spirits present. Next day, emboldened by his valour, his assistants plucked up courage and moved in.

It is all very well to have five hundred boys, but what are you going to do with them? He had no staff. What sort of discipline would obtain? How was their time to be filled to advantage? He turned the schools into Industrial Schools, provided native and foreign tools, called in skilled workmen and had the boys taught a means of earning a livelihood.

On one of his relief trips he was in serious danger. This

was at Ch'ang-lo. It must be remembered that he had to carry bullion about in large quantities. For instance, after exchanging his silver ingots at Wei-hsien, he found himself with three large carts full of strings of copper cash. Pressed with affairs, he had not time to call on the Ch'ang-lo Magistrate and inform him of his destination, which was the villages beyond the city. The Magistrate was offended, and the city crowd took the hint that they might help themselves to the cash. Unable to move his carts out of the inn yard, he rode on horseback to the central village where he was to distribute relief. There he found some thousands of people waiting. To tell them the truth would set them moving on the city, with consequent bloodshed. How could he satisfy the patient, hungry crowd who had waited for hours in the cold? Finally he put out a notice that there was delay in the arrival of the money, but asked that a leader from each village would remain overnight and be responsible for the distribution in his village. On his return to Ch'ang Lo he met a menacing crowd who had been stoning his assistant. Seeing the threatening condition, he instructed him to remain by the stuff for twenty minutes, then, taking five strings of cash, to leave everything and meet him at a village two miles back. Richard thereupon went straight to the Yamen, urged his way in to the Magistrate, told him that in a few minutes there would be no one in charge of the money, and if rioting took place the Magistrate must bear the consequences. He then left the Magistrate, who took prompt steps to seize the cash. Escaping with difficulty, Richard reached the rendezvous, but was overtaken by half-a-dozen men who demanded that he should go back and distribute the money in the city. With difficulty he got rid of them by giving them the whole five thousand cash. He now sat down to partake of a much-needed meal, but before he had finished a body of villagers, among whom he had previously distributed relief, appeared on the scene. They had heard that he was in trouble and had come, armed with clubs, pitchforks and other weapons, for his defence. They insisted on his accompanying them back to their village, where he was royally treated.

He reported to the Prefect at Ch'ing-chou, who, at his

request, obtained a receipt from the Ch'ang Lo Magistrate for the money, which he was authorized to distribute among needy old men and women of the city. Considerable delay in doing so on the part of the Magistrate brought about a demonstration, revealing the power of the democracy of China. A hundred women went and sat down in the court-yard of his Yamen, each with her kitchen chopper and board. The Magistrate, deeming it wise to respond to their urgent request for an interview, came out to see them; whereupon their spokeswoman immediately cried aloud: "The magistrate who robs the poor when dying of starvation deserves to be chopped to pieces like this!" The women then all chopped their boards, repeating their leader's words. Needless to say, the Magistrate was glad to get rid of them by arranging the distribution for the next day.

Soon after this Dr Nevius joined him in his relief work. Large numbers of people emigrated across the gulf to Manchuria. Others had to sell their land for nominal sums, and in many cases pull down their houses bit by bit and sell the woodwork. They even took off the millet-stalk thatching and boiled it with millet-chaff for food. Others dug deep pits underground, and sometimes fifty people crowded into one of these to keep warm in the dreadful winter, many dying in the foul atmosphere. Separate graves were at first dug for men and for women, but later the corpses were left to the dogs and wolves. In one place Richard found himself in an inn where a market was being held for the sale of women to regions outside the famine area, and women were pleading to be taken away even for nothing.

Consequent on Richard's letters to Shanghai, a Kiangsu relief fund was started among the Chinese, and he was able to arrange, with the representatives they sent, a scheme of distribution to avoid overlapping. Thus did this Christian missionary first arouse the Chinese to take active measures for famine relief. Without a doubt Timothy Richard was the founder of "Famine Relief" in China; but of this more will be heard in the next chapter. He received sums of money not only from foreigners, but direct from the Chinese in various parts of the country, and found the Ch'ing-chou

Chinese bankers loyal to him and most serviceable in his work.

In November 1876 Richard's heart was greatly cheered by the arrival of a colleague who became to him a beloved friend. Mr A. G. Jones had a business in Ireland, but "had felt a personal call to the mission field which he could not delegate to another. He therefore put the business into the hands of his manager, and came to China." Richard went to Chefoo to meet him and settle him there in the preliminary work of study, then returned, a twelve days' journey through snowdrifts, to his lonely station. Four months later Jones joined Richard in famine relief and kept the accounts of its funds.

When the spring crops began to appear Richard endeavoured to induce the officials to adopt modern practical methods for the development of their natural resources. His line of argument was wisely based on the conservative attitude of the scholars and their reverence for their own sages. He therefore pointed out that the great sage kings of China only became the leaders of the nation by their introduction of new ideas: Shen Nung agriculture, Ts'ang Chieh writing, and so on. The immediate result was discouraging to him, but a son of the City Magistrate was so impressed that, years later, he became a leader among the Reformers, and during the Empress Dowager's anti-reform persecutions of 1898 narrowly escaped with his life.

In the meantime the Church was growing apace, and enlightenment was being spread throughout his diocese. Those were the days before the Old Testament had been translated into Mandarin, the only book upon it within the range of the ordinary reader being *Line Upon Line*. Not only were men influenced by Richard's work, but, what was far more difficult, women also. "Old women of sixty or seventy, who could never read a word before, were now committing our books to memory, and on Sundays travelled as many as ten miles on their crippled feet to attend Christian services." Bands of men and of women were organized, each with a leader, whose office it was "to save their fellowmen from sin and lead them to God."

The method and success of his work are later referred to by Mrs Richard in a letter to her brother:

"His system, to judge by its success in Shantung, is a good one I think. I have already told you it is mostly carried on by *unpaid* agents. Some time ago there were twenty churches with 140 members and 1000 learners. Of these, a few months ago, 130 were baptized, of whom half were women (this in a district where no foreign lady has been at work). None were baptized who had not committed much of the truth to memory as given in catechisms and other carefully prepared treatises (Mr Richard's translation of Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Living* is one of these) and also attended worship regularly for a twelvemonth, and strictly kept the Sabbath for that time as evidence that their faith was not vain. The Bible is the last thing my husband gives a convert, the Old Testament last of all. The notions of the people at home on this subject are still very erroneous. 'Give them the Bible and that will teach them' is the notion at home. That has been proved over and over again to be a fallacy. Give them Bible truth prepared for them specially, has been proved to be the better plan."

The seven years he had spent in Shantung were so full of active endeavour for the physical and spiritual help of the people, and his gracious character so impressed itself on the people with whom he came in contact, that, as one wrote some years ago,

"to this day it is no uncommon thing to be stopped by strangers in different parts of the province who remember Li T'i-mo-t'ai, and want to know where he is and whether he will ever come back. 'Ah!' said a man to me, 'I remember when Li T'i-mo-t'ai first came here. I was on that hill, and the people said there was a foreign devil in the temple on the hill brow. The other people were afraid, but I had never seen a foreign devil, so I went up and looked in. When Li T'i-mo-t'ai saw me he came to the door and welcomed me in, made me sit down and talked to me; told me how in his country too they had temples, but without idols, because people there worshipped the True God.'"

CHAPTER IX

FAMINE RELIEF: SHANSI

TERRIBLE as was the famine in Shantung, Richard was soon called upon to face one of dimensions far greater, enough to appal the stoutest heart. In Shantung communication by sea made the transport of food to some extent possible. In carrying food to the distant interior to which he was now to proceed, a horse or mule would eat the load off its back on the journey.

It was in 1877 that the worst famine on record struck the province of Shansi. This province is one of the most remarkable in China. The major part of it consists of a great plateau averaging 2000 feet above the sea. Its soil of loess is of a specially fertile character, for, with but a small amount of summer rain, it produces excellent crops. But, following on two dry years, 1877 saw scarcely any rain at all; the crops perished and the people were face to face with death.

On the news becoming known in Shanghai, a Famine Relief Committee was formed which, already acquainted with Richard's success in Shantung, at once invited him to become its almoner in Shansi. By this time he had gathered together in Ch'ing-chou, and was responsible for, a church of 700 members and over 1000 catechumens, revealing success which was phenomenal. His native colleague, Pastor Ch'ing, from Chefoo, who "was equal to any two or three average foreign missionaries," had joined him. This good man's loyalty never failed, and during his lifetime he baptized over 2000 converts. Richard discussed the call to Shansi with his colleagues, Mr Jones and Pastor Ch'ing, and both agreed that it was his duty to go, firstly for the sake of the starving people, and secondly that their spiritual starvation might later be provided for through the opening of the province to Christian truth,

which, they felt, would also work for the ultimate prevention of these terrible catastrophes. The magnitude of the call so impressed Richard that, after praying with his colleagues, he tells us a powerful physical thrill affected him which almost prevented him walking back across the courtyard to his own room. Many of the native Christians, men and women, desired to accompany him, and indeed one evangelist was so persistent that only with great difficulty was he persuaded to return to his duties. Accompanied by one Christian farmer and his own servant, Richard set forth on his long journey, carrying a passport he had secured from Li Hung Chang, then Viceroy of the Metropolitan Province.

Through the Arctic cold of a northern November he pursued his journey by cart till the mountains of Shansi were reached; thence he rode a mule. Here he often found the inns cut into the loess cliffs, which made them warm in winter and also, as he found later, cool in summer. Horrible though they would seem to the comfortable people of the West, they were a haven of joy to our traveller, who suffered severely from the bitter cold, one of his heels being frost-bitten. In due course Tai-yuan-fu, the provincial capital, was reached. Its great city walls with their lofty guard-towers tell of its past greatness and of its present importance. As our travellers proceeded, the sights were so dreadful—dead bodies lying by the roadside torn by wolves and dogs—that his two Shantung companions became unnerved, and Richard thought it his duty to give them leave to return home. This permission they accepted, and left him alone. Their arrival in Shantung, however, so stirred their fellow-Christians to indignation, especially when it became known that Richard was alone, that the two men, for very shame, set off back again, and after many weeks of travelling rejoined him.

On his arrival at the provincial capital Richard at once called on the Governor, Tsêng Kuo Ch'uen, brother of the famous Tsêng Kuo Fan, and uncle of Marquis Tsêng, who was at that time the first Chinese minister to Great Britain. The Governor was ill-pleased at Richard's arrival and put difficulties in the way of his proposals. His brother,

Tsêng Kuo Fan, in an earlier report to the Throne on Roman Catholicism and Protestantism, had recommended playing off one against the other; so now, when Richard interviewed the Governor, and asked how he could use his relief funds to the best advantage, the Governor, with a twinkle in his eye, replied: "There is a Roman Catholic missionary in this city who applied a few days ago for some grain for his orphanage; you had better hand over your two thousand taels to him." The Roman Catholics had a bishop and about a dozen priests in Shansi carrying on work that had been commenced during the period of Jesuit ascendancy in Peking more than two hundred years before. Richard, always anxious to submit to authority when possible, decided to obey the Governor's orders, and accordingly interviewed the bishop, offering him the money on condition that one of his men should co-operate in distributing the relief, so that he might send a report to Shanghai. The bishop refused to agree to this; whereupon Richard wrote out a report of the conversation, had it confirmed by the bishop, and sent it to the Governor, asking for further advice. Delay ensuing, he resolved to visit the southern part of the province, where the distress was greatest, and thus learn the actual position at first hand.

Before setting out he submitted a *questionnaire* to the bishop, who was good enough to forward it to his priests in their respective districts for reply. By this means Richard was able to form some idea of the ordinary price of grain, its present price, the percentage of dead, of emigrants, of cattle still uneaten, and of women still left.

On 28th January 1878 he set out with a servant. It was a daring journey to make, for to travel alone was most risky, as many of the starving had turned to murder and cannibalism. Day by day he passed the dying and the dead on the roadside, some naked, some well dressed, some being devoured by dogs, crows and magpies. "There were fat pheasants, rabbits, foxes and wolves, but men and women had no means of living." He found that robbery in towns and villages was remarkably absent, because summary law was promptly executed by the people themselves. "The

most awful sight I ever saw," he says, was when he approached early in the morning a certain city gate and found "a pile of naked men heaped on top of each other as though they were pigs in a slaughter-house. On the other side of the gate was a similar heap of dead women, their clothing having been taken away to be pawned for food."

He saw the people eating cakes made of chaff, grass seed, roots and a kind of clay, a scanty and unwholesome diet which caused the death of many. Mile after mile he found the trees all white, stripped for ten or twenty feet high of their thin bark, which was being used as food. Houses without doors and windows were many, the woodwork having been sold for food or burned as fuel; and houses were seen with the utensils still there, the occupants having gone away or died. Daily he met carts full of women, who were being taken away for sale to save their lives and provide a little food for their families. In the country lanes everybody went armed with spears, swords, knives. No wonder he "did not feel very safe in their midst." He heard stories of parents exchanging young children because they could not kill and eat their own; and men dare not go to the coal-pits for coal, so necessary for warmth and cooking, for both mules and owners had disappeared, having been eaten.

"We had a daily repetition of the same ghastly sights, until I sometimes wondered whether the scenes were not the imagination of a disordered mind." So rapidly were the people dying off that it was impossible for the living to bury all the dead. His horror was intensified by his inability to render any relief. To have given relief would have gathered a starving mob, with serious risk to the people themselves, and the almost certain loss of his own life. The only way was to return, make the facts known, and organize relief on as large a scale as possible, and under proper control. Consequently two weeks later he found himself back in Tai-yuan-fu, thankful for a respite from the awful sights he had witnessed. He at once sent off his diary, together with the replies awaiting him from the priests, by special messenger to Tientsin, for Shanghai.

He found that the nearest stock of grain was at Tientsin, 800 miles from the centre of the famine, the radius of which in its greatest severity was 80 miles. The Government was transporting grain at its own expense over these 800 miles. It must not be supposed that the Government never took steps towards relief; it always did, but its efforts were hampered by the great distances, and always by the gross corruption of its subordinates. The corruption might be controlled by a strong Governor, but the distance and lack of rapid transport made adequate relief hopeless. In Shansi the roads over the mountains were so inconceivably bad that half-a-dozen mules were needed to pull a weight of half-a-ton. The roads, too, deep in the loess, often worn tens of feet below the level of the land, were so narrow that carts and camels could not pass each other; it was therefore arranged that carts should travel by day and the slower camels by night. Richard, having heard of these mountainous roads before leaving Ch'ing-chou, took careful observations with an aneroid of the rise and fall, and on reaching Tai-yuan-fu drew an elevation map of the road.

This winter was exceptionally cold. For the first time in thirty years cart traffic was opened over the frozen Yellow River. To the terrors of famine, therefore, were added those of intense cold, with no animals left to carry fuel.

"When the Great Famine of 1876–9 was over, the greatest on record in history, during which half the eighteen provinces of China suffered more or less, there can be no doubt that between fifteen and twenty millions of people had perished. Most of these millions could have been saved if the Chinese officials had not been so full of pride, saying that they alone were civilized, that they had nothing to learn from the barbarians of the West."

Other missionaries also were visiting the province. Messrs Turner and James of the China Inland Mission were already there evangelizing before his arrival. Both caught the famine fever, and on recovery were obliged to leave for the coast. The Rev. Arnold Foster set out from Hankow for Tientsin, a month's journey, to find out the facts of the

famine. Having spent a day or two within the Shansi border, he hastened on to Tientsin, and decided to proceed to England at once in order to arouse public interest. On reaching London he met the British minister to China, Sir Thomas Wade, who advised that fuller information was necessary before an appeal could be made. Happily, just at this juncture, Richard's journal and letter arrived, and were promptly and effectively brought into use.

Richard's next move was to secure official authority to distribute the further sums he had received, and to arrange plans for more extensive work. This time his appeal to the Governor proved more effective, and soon certain villages were allotted to him, the local officials and gentry rendering every necessary assistance. In the cities and chief market towns the officials established "soup kitchens" where millet gruel was given away. In Tai-yuan 20,000 went daily for a pot of gruel. In the villages 100 cash per head per month was distributed—that is, three cash a day, as hard to live on as a farthing a day in England.

Happily the Governor was a resolute man. He authorized summary jurisdiction throughout the province, and on discovering that an official had peculated famine funds ordered his instant execution. "In this way he saved the officials from corruption and the villages from disorder." Richard urged on the Governor the advantages of improving the communications, and especially that the starving people should be employed in preparing the way for a railway. Thereupon the Governor ordered a number of officials to consult with Richard; but they came to the conclusion that so many foreigners would have to be employed to build and run the railway that it would form a constant source of trouble.

Throughout this period Richard's pen was not idle. Amongst many other things he wrote to Mr Baynes, the Baptist Missionary Secretary, urging him to consult with other secretaries and gentlemen of position, so that arrangements might be made whereby the Chinese ambassador and other Chinese visitors to England could be given a right view of our civilization. He was anxious that they

should not merely see arsenals, factories, theatricals and secondary things in our national life, but that they should also see our best, and not least our best in education and religion. He also wrote a pamphlet for the Chinese gentry, showing that famines could be avoided, what steps should be taken, and the importance of better co-operation between Chinese and foreigners for the good of China. He sent out, too, a letter addressed to the Protestant Missions in China, drawing attention to the waste and inefficiency resulting from their lack of co-ordination and not infrequent rivalry; but it was not till thirty years later, at the Shanghai Conference of 1907, that this question was faced.

In March 1878, with the first steamer after the breaking of the ice, there arrived in Tientsin David Hill of the Wesleyan Mission (whose Chinese name was Li, the same as Richard's), Albert Whiting of the American Presbyterian Mission, and Joshua Turner of the China Inland Mission, and also 30,000 taels from the Shanghai Committee. The famine fever had already spread across the northern province, and " some of the best missionaries in Tientsin " had been carried off by it. Friends feared for the safety of Hill, Whiting and Turner, and would have detained them, but their duty was clear, and they bravely set out for Tai-yuan-fu, which in due course they reached in safety.

Of these four men, met here for the first time, to work for the welfare of the suffering province, one, Albert Whiting, died of famine fever on 25th April, a few days after his arrival; one still lives in Tai-yuan-fu; a third, the saintly David Hill, came out of his famine sufferings to devote his private wealth, through a lifetime of personal poverty, to the service of the Chinese poor, *les misérables*. The fourth, as already shown, was no mere " visionary," but a man of great and practical vision, a man who loved and pitied his suffering fellow-men, but who also looked beyond individuals to the millions, and who sought the means of their salvation as well for time as for eternity. He saw that, if famine relief was Christian work, education to avoid famine was equally, or greater, Christian work. If it was good to save a few thousands from this dreadful suffering, it was even better to

prevent millions from so great a terror. Such an argument seems unnecessary now, and strange, but forty years ago it was a novel and heterodox view. Against such public opinion as this amongst his fellow-missionaries, against the contemptuous attitude of the official mind—British as well as Chinese—and in the face of the proverbial pride of the *literati*, he had to win his way. Apart from David Hill, who was his unfailing friend, those whom he afterwards won to his way of thinking have been distinctly converts, and can well remember their "unconverted days."

He came, then, out of the horror with the one word, "Education," branded into his soul, a word which became the key-note of his life; not mere book learning, but true enlightenment in regard to all the wonderful works of God, for body, mind and soul. I think it was this mind which led him to a large sympathy with Buddhism. Buddha, the Enlightened One, and Buddhism, the Quest of Enlightenment, appealed to his own yearning for the enlightenment of the people, and the lure of this quest may have made him see more light in Buddhism than really exists. It was for their sake, that of the Buddhists themselves, that he rejoiced in "The Light of Asia," not for himself, for he had found The Light of the World.

As has been well said, "David Hill became especially the friend of the poor, with an open heart for officials and gentry; Timothy Richard, with an open heart for the poor, became especially an associate of officials and gentry, with a programme of so raising China as a whole, that the physical and moral destitution of the populace should be mitigated and eventually removed"—a scheme which seemed "at the time very chimerical."

On their reaching England, his letters and diary so strengthened the appeal of Arnold Foster that Sir Thomas Wade and the Archbishop of Canterbury induced the Lord Mayor of London to open a Mansion House Relief Fund. As the amounts contributed and cabled out to Shanghai were received, silver ingots of fifty taels each were packed in boxes of one or two thousand and sent to Tientsin. There Viceroy Li Hung Chang had them forwarded to him, each

consignment in charge of an escort of soldiers. At that time official ignorance of foreigners was so great that the officer over one of the Viceroy's military escorts addressed Richard on arrival, and all the time he was there, as "Kuei-tzu Ta Ren," or "Devil's son, your Excellency." Richard courteously refrained from correcting him lest he should be confounded with shame.

With more funds, the three men now established themselves at P'ing-yang-fu, nearer the centre of the famine district. By this time the Governor had recognized their usefulness and lent them the support they needed.

"The officials and people prayed to every god said to be efficacious for rain, but in vain. In this dire extremity they heard that in a certain well in the province of Chihli there was an iron tablet possessing wonderful properties. Consequently the Governor, Tsêng Kwoh Ch'uen, sent to Chihli to borrow the tablet, so that it might be used in the prayers for rain. The Roman Catholics and Protestants, in their respective churches, continued their prayers, till finally there was a great downpour over the whole province, and the people were grateful beyond measure, each party believing in the efficacy of the same gods as before!"

The total amount of foreign relief raised was 200,000 taels, or £60,000, of which Richard, Hill and Turner distributed 120,000 taels. As it was impossible for them to import and distribute grain, all they could do was to distribute their relief in money. Dollars and dimes were unknown; the only two currencies were pieces of silver and copper cash, and the differing weights and differing exchanges would have driven even a mathematician to despair. As Richard says: "The currency question in China seems to destroy the solid foundations of mathematics." A pound weight in P'ing-yang was sixteen ounces; in villages outside it was twenty ounces. In one place eighty-two cash were reckoned as a hundred, in another fifty, and in another sixteen. Each silver ingot had to be heated by a blacksmith and hammered out to a quarter-inch thickness, then cut into inch squares.

His final work for relief was at Fên Sui with Canon Scott of the S.P.G. They parted in due course, Canon Scott to be consecrated Bishop of North China, and he to finish his relief work. At last dysentery laid him low, and he had to be carried on a litter to P'ing-yang, whence later he set out for Tai-yuan.

Of the gratitude of the people for the relief work Richard had no manner of doubt. They wanted to make him a present of a red official "umbrella" inscribed with the names of ten thousand grateful people, but he protested against the use of money so much needed for the poor. The gentry of P'ing-yang, however, set up a stone tablet recording the help rendered, but concluded the inscription with the words: "What beneficence and grace does this display on the part of his August Majesty the Emperor of China, that men should come from the ends of the earth to succour and aid his people." A deputation came to ask for photographs of the three foreigners, to set up in their temple as a perpetual monument of their gratitude. The Governor also sent Richard a very flattering letter of thanks on his setting out for the coast, a letter which he later destroyed, lest he should be tempted to presume upon it. Nevertheless, the Governor, though he recommended many rewards to Chinese, the value of whose work could not compare with that of our trio, never mentioned in his despatches to the Throne the labours, sufferings, and terrible risks they had run. Later, official rank was offered by Li Hung Chang, but it was respectfully declined.

To sum up this subject of famine relief: while recognizing to the full the splendid work of others, it may justly be said that to Richard more than to anyone else belongs the honour of establishing the system of Famine Relief which has since done such valuable service in China. His experience, gained in Shantung, opened the way for the remarkable work done in Shansi whereby that province was opened to Protestant Mission work and to modern education, so that it is now reported to be the most enlightened province of China.

CHAPTER X

PIONEERING IN SHANSI

SO impressed was Richard with the need in Shansi for Christian missions, and so assured was he that a friendly feeling had been engendered, that he wrote to the China Inland Mission describing the situation, and inviting them to send more workers. Three ladies, the first to travel so far inland, arrived in October 1878, one of them being Mrs Hudson Taylor, who undertook work amongst the orphans. Mr James, who during the Boxer outbreak was brutally killed in Peking, soon joined them with his wife. These all lived in Richard's house while he visited the coast.

We now come to the time when he decided that he could do more efficient mission work if he were married. Had he harboured any doubts in the matter, the charm of Mary Martin would have chased them away. She had been sent out from Scotland the previous year to work with Dr Williamson as a member of the United Presbyterian Mission in Chefoo, and was eminently suited to be Richard's wife. Well educated, intellectual, musical, a good speaker and writer, gentle and brave, idealistic but practical, she consented to share his life, and thereby greatly enriched it. The engagement was of the briefest; they were married in October 1878, and set out for Tai-yuan-fu in November. There, for the first time since his arrival in China, he learnt what it meant to have a home. "The first thing I am delighted to dwell on now," he writes to his wife's brother, "is that I have a home." Very different was it from his former return after weary wanderings. "*Now* I have my dear wife to welcome me each time I come home; and not only so, she is in sympathy with my work, working and praying for the same end." On their arrival, the members of the China Inland Mission were all still living in his house, having failed to rent

one of their own; so that it was hardly to a home of her own that he brought his bride. Perhaps it was well, for within a month duty called him to leave her while he went to the south of Shansi in order to work with Canon Scott and another in the final distribution of relief, reference to which has already been made.

Having gained the respect of the people of Shansi through the provision of material things which they could see and understand, his next work was to offer them the less tangible but more potent influences of his religion, for their temporal and eternal good.

One of his first actions was to obtain from Shanghai a complete set of Roman Catholic publications in Chinese, and also from Peking a set of those of the Greek (*i.e.* Russian) Church.

From A.D. 1600 the Jesuit Ricci and the priests who were his colleagues lived as Court Astronomers, and were on terms of intimacy with the Emperor and the highest officials of the land. Assisted by such men as these, the most notable scholars of the day, they had evolved a literature which had brought converts from the highest circles, as well as large numbers from among the masses. Had it not been for sectarianism, which was more bitter within the Church of Rome than it is among any of the sects of Protestantism, it seems possible that Ricci might have laid the foundation for the early Christianization of China. It may be well that his less opportunist rivals thwarted him and his school, for the "pagan" Chinese have an honest philosophical sense which Roman casuists might have warped. Nevertheless Richard found in these books of the Catholic fathers matter of great value admirably expressed. At that time the amount of Protestant literature was very meagre. It is an unfortunate fact that some of the tracts of that period were more suitable for anti-Christian than for Christian "propaganda." Inconsiderate iconoclasm was their principal feature, and attacks were not uncommon on that heretofore very valuable social custom of reverence to ancestors. Ancestor-worship has undoubtedly been carried to excess in China, but it is the powerful bond of family and of clan, as well in this life as with the next. The dissolution of this bond will probably

involve the dissolution of Chinese society as we know it. There is much that is beautiful and beneficial in the custom, and change should be constructive rather than destructive. Certain it is that in those days any attack on ancestor-worship was considered the most shocking sacrilege of which a man could be guilty. The issue of tracts indelicately worded, and read of course with bias, alienated many. The tracts even caused anti-missionary riots, "not because of the wickedness of the Chinese, but because of the ignorance of the writers, who had not fully studied Chinese ideas, and were charging the natives with sin where there was no sin." During Richard's first year in China a missionary friend had brought him in triumph the ancestral tablet of a native Christian which the owner had consented to burn. "When he burns his tablet, I suppose you will at the same time burn your parents' photographs," said Richard to his friend. The tablet was not burned! Such was his attitude towards ancestor-worship as towards the Chinese religions in general. While recognizing clearly enough their errors and defects, he was much more interested in their good qualities. In this excellent trait of character lay his strength. He believed in the good in men; he believed in the good in their religions, and to him it was ever incredible that anyone should believe that "works done before the Grace of Christ, and the Inspiration of His Spirit, are not pleasant to God . . . yea, rather, for that they are not done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done, we doubt not but they have the nature of sin"—an attitude of mind still prevalent in his day. In like manner, he saw no reason why he should not make use of the good work done by his Christian predecessors, even though they were Roman or Greek Catholics, and anathema to many of his brethren, as his brethren were to them.

Mrs Richard had also been growing away from the stern dogmas in which she had been trained in her Scottish home. A letter to her brother, then in business in Liverpool, had apparently brought back a word of criticism, as may be seen from the following extract:—

"Would you just allow me one word about the subject of

the *grievous* letter. If you had travelled over the world as I have, and seen the millions on millions of people, the hundreds of millions in this land particularly who have never had a chance of hearing of Christianity, not to mention the other thousands who have been repelled by having (alas!) only a caricature of it, you would, like me, feel it such a joy to be able to lay for ever aside that doctrine we were taught as Bible truth in Scotland and for forgoing which good men (Fergus Ferguson, *e.g.*) are turned out of the church to this day,—*such* a joy that you would feel *constrained* to write to those you love and tell about it. As I have said I could not write to father and you are next, dear."

And a letter from Richard himself to his brother-in-law reveals the spirit which ever animated him:

"You wrote about religion too. We have Bushnell, Robertson, Martineau, Ecce Homo, Carlyle, Cox, Farrar, all more or less looking broadly over the field of religion, and adapting their teaching to the need of the times. Theories about life, present and future, abound now as in every age. Many of these will give place to others more suitable, or supposed to be so. Whatever people think of *theories*, there can be no two opinions about the individuals, whether men or women, who devote *all* their powers, at *all* times, by *every* opportunity to glorify God and confer blessings on their fellow-men. Opinion is often wrong, but this twofold act has never been, nor will ever be wrong. The *means* too are often wrong, but the *deed* of gratitude, of intercession or of mercy is blessed for all generations. Dear brother, you know as well as I do these are precious in the eyes of God. It was for saying this that the prophets suffered at the hands of a Pharasaic age. It is for this that some are considered unorthodox nowadays, but so long as the Holy Sermon on the Mount remains, every child of God will have sufficient consolation though all the world were to call him atheist."

Richard naturally often discussed the position and methods of mission work with his colleagues. He was an

earnest advocate of the division of the vast field after the fashion of the Catholics, allocating a different province to each denomination instead of maintaining several missions in one centre. But in those days there was no central organizing body; everything was done without system. Missions were feeling their way half blindly; indeed, feeling the way, as time has proved, towards union, not only abroad, but at home. Christian charity, even in those days, might have prevailed on the field itself, but there was not enough of it at home. It is now growing—slowly—in the West. In China great advance has been made during the last twenty years: all Presbyterians have united, all Congregationalists, all Baptists and all branches of the Church of England; the Methodists alone lag behind. Union colleges and hospitals, then unknown, are now the order of the day. In this effort Richard was always a strong protagonist. He keenly felt the waste of power that resulted from our divisions, and how seriously they hindered the realization of the great end, the establishment of the Reign of God in China. One evening, he tells, when

"Hill, Turner and I were sitting at a Chinese meal, David Hill told us that after preaching for a number of years without the great success he expected to see, he had re-studied the New Testament, and had discovered that instead of emphasizing the Kingdom of God on earth, as Our Lord did, he had been preaching another doctrine, and from that time he began to be more scriptural and less theological. He had discovered a gospel in the New Testament which made Chinese as well as Europeans glad —the gospel of the Kingdom of God wherein dwelleth righteousness, peace on earth, goodwill to men. We had come to China, not to condemn but to save; not to destroy but to fulfil; not to sadden but to gladden."

On hearing this Richard left the table, fetched his notebook from his bedroom, and read out his own notes, which were precisely on the same lines as Hill's; "at which we had a hearty laugh." Times have changed and the outlook to-day is different. It must be remembered that fifty years ago—

and perhaps nearly half the missionaries in the world still hold the same views—men and women went abroad theoretically to pluck a few brands from the burning of an eternal hell. In practice their heart was greater than their creed, as it is to-day. The metanoia which two such great-souled men as David Hill and Timothy Richard had to undergo years after their arrival in the field is the clearest indication of the Judaistic Christianity in which they had been trained. It came as a revelation to them that Christ had come to establish the Kingdom of Heaven on earth. There are thousands of old-style missionaries left — God bless them—who still live in Old Testament times, little realizing that the least in the Kingdom with Christ is greater than all the Prophets.

While on relief work in P'ing-yang Richard found he was in a city where, a thousand years before, Christianity had already had an important foothold. A famous general, Kwo Tzŭ Yi, who had fought the Hun and Turkish invaders in those days, was a Nestorian Christian, and his home was at P'ing-yang. The southern border of Shansi is close to Lo-yang, the ancient capital of China, and it is well known that in the seventh century visitors from all over Asia reached the Court and were welcomed by the great monarch T'ai Tsung. It is said that as many as 3000 foreigners were resident there. Amongst these were Nestorian (or Syrian) Christians, the missionaries of Asia, and under the Emperor's patronage they established many churches, and spread their religion over a large part of China. Centuries later it disappeared, partly as the result of persecution and of war, but also from internal decadence and probable assimilation into Buddhism. It was at this period that Japan sent an embassy of its learned men to Lo-yang, which resulted in the adoption by Japan of Chinese literature, manners, customs and religion, particularly that of Buddhism. Richard says: " Kobo Daishi and Dengyo Daishi carried back to Japan a form of religion, largely Christian, which prevails over Japan to this day under the name of Higher Buddhism (Ta Chêng Kiao)." We shall consider this subject later, but it may briefly be said here that a Christian origin of " Higher Buddhism "

lacks evidence, and the influence of Nestorian Christianity on the Buddhism which was taken to Japan needs more careful research.

In 1879 David Hill came to live in Tai-yuan for a while. "Our friendship," says Richard, "was the closest, happiest and sweetest, and lasted till his death." Hill, who wrote in Chinese character himself, "a rare accomplishment among missionaries," began to prepare books and tracts. Richard had to content himself with dictating to a Chinese teacher, who without doubt produced far better results than could any foreigner. The extreme difficulty for a foreigner to write good Chinese is shown by the fact that a really able man like Richard was to the end dependent on a native scholar. Nevertheless he was always an earnest student. Mrs Richard about this period wrote: "We are having bright, beautiful weather here, and not very cold." It was the middle of November, with the usual brilliant northern sky, and from then till the following June scarcely a cloud would be seen. "I am writing in a room now without a fire. Of course I have wadded clothes." They dressed as did the Chinese. "In our bedrooms our *k'angs* are heated." The house was a Chinese house, and the *k'ang*, or brick bed, heated by a fire underneath, ran along one wall of the room. They are "cosy to sleep on at night, or sit on during the day if the weather be severe. Mr Richard studies and does all his reading on top of the heated *k'ang*. He is a Chinaman out and out."

About this time, at Richard's suggestion, the Shansi missionaries resolved to carry their message to every county of the province by the distribution of carefully selected literature. "It was a gigantic task considering the fewness of our number. A great map of the counties of the province was laid before us, and volunteers were asked to undertake distribution in as many counties as they could." Richard took all that the others left over, and the task was accomplished within a year.

In 1879 the triennial examinations for the M.A. degree were held in Tai-yuan, when pamphlets were again distributed. In some of the pamphlets an offer was made of prizes

for moral and religious essays, out of money provided by Sir Robert Hart to encourage the study of Western civilization. One of the essays sent in was by Pastor Hsi, since made famous by Mrs Howard Taylor. He had been head of a Taoist sect, the Chin Tan Chiao, at P'ing-yang, where David Hill was the means of leading him to the Christian faith. Later he was baptized by Mr Turner, and became pastor of the church founded there by the China Inland Mission, where most of the famine relief had been distributed.

In Tai-yuan the church continued to prosper, the Sunday services to be well attended, and the membership to increase. The Holy Communion has been symbolized in a variety of ways in China. Native wine made from rice, and not from the juice of the vine, has had to be substituted where the grape is unknown; even tea, the common drink of the people, as wine from grapes was that of Palestine, has been used in place of wine. Happily for the church in the north the grape was available. Mrs Richard tells how they came to make their own Communion wine. " What do you think is our last experiment ? " she asks her brother. " You won't guess. It was wine-making! The grapes were so good and so cheap, and our port wine was getting done; and as we have Communion here every Sabbath we thought it best to make our own wine. With a few directions from the Roman Catholic priests—Italians, who have this simple wine at every meal—we managed to make a very good drink indeed. The grapes were bought at a vineyard some distance from this, at the rate of 1¼d. a pound, and were carried to our gate on the backs of two camels. I went out in time to see the great creatures kneel down to be unloaded."

There were times when Mrs Richard keenly felt the distance from her people at home, who did not always realize the intense longing she had for news of them. In writing to her brother asking for one letter a month she says : " Just try to realize what the arrival of a mail is to us here once in six weeks or so, and fancy the messenger—for whom we pay dearly—bringing me only one letter, not from home, but only from Tientsin."

In 1880 hostilities between Russia and China became so imminent that Governor Tsêng was called to the coast to prepare an army, though many of his men decamped on the way. Convinced of the folly of China, with its bows and arrows and antiquated guns, fighting any foreign nation, Richard wrote a pamphlet urging peace. In August he went to Peking and boldly, perhaps rashly, memorialized all the Imperial Yamens, enclosing his pamphlet. The result was an edict saying that anyone advocating peace was a traitor and would suffer the severest penalties. The following month he and Jonathan Lees were invited in Tientsin to see the Viceroy Li Hung Chang. The Viceroy, among many other things, said: "Your converts gather round you because they and their friends are in your service and have their living thereby. Withdraw the pay of these native agents and there will be no more Christians"—a sentiment inordinately exaggerated in those days, and utterly false to-day. But what struck Richard most was the Viceroy's remark that "there were no Christians among the educated classes of the land," a remark which sent him back to Shansi resolved to do his best to influence the leaders of the people. In consequence, he decided to commence a course of lectures to officials and scholars, about which more will be said later.

While still in Shantung he had known every missionary, British and American, and had had the happiest relations with them. "The territorial division of the field between the English Baptists and the American Presbyterians was the happiest solution of a trouble that threatened us." He brought the same brotherly spirit into the work in Shansi. He had urged the China Inland Mission to develop their work there. Later the American Board sent the Oberlin Band, and these too were given a hearty welcome. At his suggestion, they did not form separate churches in the city of Tai-yuan, but had one united church there. He induced the missionaries also to delimit the sphere of work in the province, as in Shantung, so as to avoid friction and overlapping in the future. In the meantime the China Inland Mission staff had been considerably strengthened by the arrival of

Dr Harold Schofield, " one of the most brilliant medical missionaries that ever came to China "; also of Mr and Mrs Landale, Mr Drake and Mr Piggott. Both Mr and Mrs Richard rendered every aid to the new-comers, and a spirit of delightful harmony and most intimate friendship prevailed.

" But Mr Hudson Taylor, of the Inland Mission, broke our harmony by ordering his members, in 1881, to have a separate place of worship, on the ground that I was not orthodox. This came as a great surprise to Dr Schofield and Mr Landale, who called on me at once with Mr Taylor's letter. They assured me that they had always found my addresses most helpful; but, much against the wishes of most of them, the Inland Mission in Tai-yuan-fu had their separate place of worship and opened a separate school.

" I decided in November to go to Chefoo, taking over a month in going and coming, to see Mr Taylor in person, in the hope of settling the matter more satisfactorily. I eventually offered to leave Tai-yuan-fu, where I had been working for several years with the vantage-ground of having taken part in famine relief, and move on to the provincial capital of Honan, from which his mission had been driven out, on condition that he should not send any of his Mission there, but leave the field to English Baptists. To this suggestion he would not, however, agree.

" Confronted with his impossible attitude, I returned to Shansi with a sad heart. I felt, however, that it would be disgraceful for us to have opposition schools in one city. On being told that the Inland Mission intended to carry on their school permanently, I suggested that they should take over Mrs Richard's boys, so that there should be a good number in the school, and we could be set free to devote ourselves to some other good work. This was considered the best method of economizing forces, but it was with a heavy heart that Mrs Richard handed over her sixty pupils, to whom after three years' teaching she had become much attached, and the first ten of whom had professed to be Christians in January 1880.

" There is much more that I might say in self-defence,

but the whole matter is now a thing of the past. I see nothing to regret in my attitude at the time, although to this day its consequences follow me. But I am glad to say that in Tai-yuan-fu itself there is no longer any schism, the Baptist Missionary Society now occupying the whole city."

During 1880–1881 he decided on the publication of the lives of notable Christians of the West. To this end he procured Church histories, lives of the saints (pre- and post-Reformation), and marked suitable passages. After handing over the school to the China Inland Mission, Mrs Richard was attracted by this idea, and herself took over the translation of these lives, assisted by an able Chinese writer, Mr Kao Ta Ling. The influence of these lives on Mr Kao was so great that he became a Christian. Later, he was Bursar at the University, a man in whom I had the fullest confidence as an honourable Christian gentleman.

Richard's mind was always alert, puzzling how to work for the people's welfare. Knowing from bitter experience the misery of the roads with gullies worn to a great depth below the surface of the land, and wondering whether railways would find the loess cleavage a barrier, he turned his thoughts to a study of birds and insects in their flight, and became an early flying enthusiast, himself making various models. His contribution to the art cannot be said to have advanced it, nor to have cost him much. Founding his argument on the unsound premises that as the Chinese were the great kite-fliers of the world, therefore some genius among them might solve the problem, he offered a prize to the first inventor of a flying machine. The air of Shansi is remarkably stimulating, but it did not stimulate flying machines. Nevertheless that offer of his remained in the memory of men in Shansi, and in 1909 I had the pleasure of describing to many of them Bleriot's machine, which I had recently seen in England after its flight over the Channel.

CHAPTER XI

DEVELOPMENTS IN SHANSI

THE first fifty years of Protestant mission work were spent in getting a foothold, for it must be borne in mind that up to 1842 foreigners were not allowed to reside anywhere but on a narrow mudflat outside Canton. As the result of the Opium War in that year, the then valueless island of Hong-Kong was ceded to the British, and the five southern ports of Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo and Shanghai were opened. The north and the interior were still a forbidden territory. Twenty years later northern ports were opened, and for the first time foreign legations and residents were admitted to Peking. Even yet the interior was closed to residence. It is only fifty years or so since foreigners were allowed to trade or do mission work on the mighty Yangtze river. It will be seen, therefore, that Protestant missions, though nominally over a century old, are to all intents and purposes a development during Timothy Richard's period of service in China.

As already shown, the reason for this slow progress was the not altogether unjustifiable anti-foreign spirit of the Government. China had not always been anti-foreign. During previous dynasties Hindus, Jews, Parthians, Christians, Mohammedans had all been welcomed. It was Portuguese and Dutch semi-buccaneer traders, Japanese raiders, papal claims, British opium and the conquest of India which added the spirit of self-defence to the arrogance of Manchus and Chinese and made their attitude take offensive forms. Richard tells us that

"When the brilliant Jesuit Fathers Matteo Ricci, Adam Schall, and Verbiest came to China, they were received with the highest honours by the Emperors Wan Lieh and K'ang Hi. But the Dominicans who followed denounced

the policy of the Jesuits, and dissensions arose. When the Pagal Legate, M. de Tournon, arrived, taking sides with the Dominicans, and declaring that the Jesuit term for God was not correct, K'ang Hi is said to have asked a Dominican priest accompanying the Legate to read some Chinese characters hung up in the Hall of Audience. As the priest could not read them, the Emperor told the Legate that he had better take all these ignorant priests out of China. The Emperor declared that he knew his own language better than they. The Jesuits he wished to retain in Peking. But as for the Pope, he should look after his own subjects, and the Emperor would rule his own.

"Later on, the news of England's conquest of India came to the knowledge of Peking. This, in addition to the Pope's assumption that he was the sole ruler of the whole earth, who had given the East to Portugal and America to Spain, made the Manchu Government fear political aggression from the West. They in turn assumed that the Son of Heaven was the sole ruler of the world, and when the East India Company came to Canton, edicts were issued to Lord Napier as to a Chinese subject, commanding him to obey in fear and trembling. It was this conflict of two similar assumptions, and not any of the side-issues, that brought about the first war with China.

"Later on, the Tai-ping rebellion made the Chinese fear religious propaganda as a dangerous political movement. Consequently, after treaties of religious toleration had been signed, the Chinese Government gave instructions to its officials, high and low, that they were to do their utmost to prevent missionaries settling in the interior, lest they should steal the hearts of the people. One man in Kiangsu, on whose person a letter from a foreigner was found, inquiring about a house to rent, was put to death. Landlords who rented houses to 'foreign devils' were to be arrested and severely punished. This policy explains the fact that the opening of almost every mission station in China was accompanied by a riot, originated by the officials and gentry."

Happily Richard, through his personality and his devotion

to the people's welfare, obtained an entry into Shantung and into Shansi, which otherwise would have been extremely difficult. He now began to prepare himself for the enlightenment of the educated classes, believing in the principle that as water flows downhill more easily than it is pumped up, so truth will progress more rapidly when it is advocated by educated men, and men in influential positions. He argued that Western civilization had this advantage over that of China, that "it sought to discover the workings of God in Nature, and to apply the laws of Nature to the service of mankind. This was in obedience to God's command to Adam to have dominion over all things." He knew too well what a task he was facing. "The work of converting ordinary country folk in China is not easy," he says, "and the converting of mandarins who are filled with all sorts of prejudices against us is still more difficult. To attempt to convert the Government is therefore a still more stupendous task, with its anti-foreign traditions of centuries." Nevertheless, he determined to begin by showing the officials, gentry and hundreds of waiting or "expectant" officials of Tai-yuan the beneficial results of Western research. His hope was to enlighten them as to the benefits deriving to the people and nation from the development of China's enormous natural resources, and the advantages of improved communications.

Before he could undertake this work he found it necessary to devote himself to study. He and his wife bravely stinted themselves of all but bare necessaries that he might buy books and instruments. A friend told me long since of a visit he paid to their home when they were on furlough in 1885, when he found the family living "chiefly on rice," to enable him to buy electrical apparatus for his lectures. In Tai-yuan they lived in a Chinese house, wore Chinese clothes and ate Chinese food. He tells us that from 1880 to 1884 he spent nearly a thousand pounds, including a legacy left him by a relative, on books and instruments. His salary and allowances as a missionary probably never exceeded £400 a year, yet he bought standard theological works, Roman and Protestant, works on comparative

religion, Church history, a complete set of Max Müller's Sacred Books of the East; a complete set of the Buddhist Tripitaka in Chinese (which cost £32), books on science and medicine, *The Encyclopædia Britannica*, and many other costly volumes. He purchased a "telescope, microscope, spectroscope and dynamo (£40), Wimshurst machine, induction coil, various galvanic batteries, galvanometer, Geissler tubes, voltmeter, electrometer, pocket sextant, pocket aneroids." He had also "magic lanterns worked by oxyhydrogen, spirits of wine, acetylene, with the latest set of astronomical slides, natural history slides on Australia, Africa, America, etc., botanical slides on tea, coffee, cocoa, india-rubber, sugar-cane, etc., and scientific slides; also a sewing machine, to show how one person could do the work of many." He obtained a complete photographic outfit, and subsequently gave it to his assistant, who became the pioneer photographer of the province.

With the help of these books and apparatus he gave regular lectures on astronomy, chemistry, mechanics, steam-engines, electricity, light, medicine and surgery. In 1882 he lectured on the great comet, showed its character and course, and that it boded no evil. For three years he lectured monthly to the officials and scholars at their own request. When the Manchus and Chinese quarrelled over a new theatre that had been built, a Prefect petitioned the Governor to hand it over to Richard for his lectures; but the time was not yet.

It is certain that all the officials of any importance throughout the province, and all the gentry of Tai-yuan and the neighbourhood, together with thousands from the other cities of the province, first became acquainted with Western science through the very remarkable "experiments" performed in their presence by this remarkable man, who had to learn nearly everything from books. His exhibitions of the power of electricity were especially marvellous to them; yet it must be borne in mind that electrical development, even in the West, was still in its infancy.

"In all the lectures I pointed out how God had provided

infinite powers for man's use in the forces of nature, in ignorance of which men lived like drudges and slaves. Many of the Government couriers, after riding with despatches for long distances at the rate of two hundred miles a day, often died of fatigue, while the electric telegraph was able to transmit in a few minutes messages from all round the earth, causing no exhaustion to anyone. The matter of supreme importance was that we should study all the laws of God in Nature, so as to gain the benefits that God intended to bestow upon us when He stored up all these forces for our use, and then show our gratitude for all His lovingkindness by obeying His spiritual laws.

"After my lectures were commenced in Tai-yuan-fu, the number of officials and students who came to see me was so large that I was obliged to rent an additional office in an adjoining street, where I could quietly pursue my studies and translation work without interruption from callers, who had a habit of staying for hours."

"The great problem daily with me [he wrote to his brother-in-law] is how to lead these people from the study of these subjects in Nature up to Nature's God, using all we have as so many illustrations to show how wonderfully dependent on Him we are in all things—even of the body. How much more of the soul, which is most like unto God in its great powers and its great future. . . . With all the discoveries of modern science and the inventions of the nineteenth century, I find after all nothing comparable with the love of God, with the love which genuine Christians all have, and the marvellous power of prayer, and the comfort of the Holy Ghost in the heart. These are the truths, with the fact of redemption from our sins so as to make us meet for the inheritance of the saints in light, which are the truest and grandest discoveries ever heard of. They can give joy *to all* and for ever."

Among the many who came to see him was a man, Mr Wang, from the central province of Honan, who later became Prefect of Ning-wu-fu in Shansi. Some months after his appointment, on his first visit to Tai-yuan, he came to

see Richard, who, *more suo*, asked him what reforms he had introduced into his prefecture. In reply he waxed eloquent in his description of a new school he had established, in which modern science was being taught. Though no doubt of an elementary character, it was interesting as a beginning. The conversation turned to religion, when Mr Wang expressed his surprise that Richard believed "in heaven and hell like the Buddhists."

"I replied: 'You know that when you go to Shanghai you have to travel to Tientsin by cart, then you must take a steamer in order to travel by sea?' 'Yes, that is clear.' I then had hanging on the wall of my study a fine astronomical chart of the solar system, published by Johnston. I pointed to the planets, and asked him if he knew that their strength of gravitation and pressure of atmosphere differed according to their sizes, and that if we were transferred to some we should be crushed to death by the atmospheric pressure, while if we were transferred to others we should burst. Therefore if we ever travel from this planet to another we must change this body of ours to another fitted to live in our new home. 'Yes, I understand that it must be so.' 'Now why did you reward the best boys of your school?' 'To encourage them.' 'Have you pulled down your jail?' 'No.' 'Why not?' 'Because there are incorrigible men in the world.' 'That is true, and the only way to deal with them is to shut them up in jail to prevent them from doing harm to others. As a mandarin, therefore, you find the principle of rewards and punishment indispensable. Perhaps the Ruler of the Universe finds the same necessity.' At this point he rose from his seat, came up to me and made a profound bow, and said: 'I see all you mean. Print this conversation, and no Confucianist, after reading it, will cavil at Christianity any more.'"

At one time Richard, no doubt glad of the rent, sublet for a few years a wing of his house to the ablest scholar of the province, who was editing a new edition of the official *History of Shansi*. The companionship of so able a scholar must have been invaluable. This gentleman greatly admired

one of Matteo Ricci's works, *T'ien Chu Shih Yi* ("The True Meaning of God"). On one occasion Richard asked him to supply him with a number of Confucian hymns, but after some weeks he had to confess to failure; they did not exist. When finally this scholar was given an official post he came to pay a farewell visit. The conversation turning on religion, he took a book of the Chinese classics from the table and deliberately placed it on the floor. "There is not another man in all Shansi who would dare do that!" he cried, "so great is their reverence for characters and printed pages. As for me, the outward symbols have no real value in themselves. It is the meaning they represent that I reverence. I honour the truths contained in them. So, if you ask me to be baptized and become a Christian, I reply that the outward rite has no meaning for me. God will not respect me any more after a few drops of water in baptism or a plunge in the river. If I am truly sincere, baptism and outward conforming to your ceremonies cannot make me a better man." "That is true," Richard replied; "but that is not the question. The point is whether you are willing to promote the Kingdom of God on earth, and help to uplift your fellow-men." "Ah!" he cried, "I am with you there."

About the year 1880 Richard had a remarkable interview with Viceroy Tso Tsung-t'ang, China's greatest general. General Tso and his agricultural army are famous in modern history. Sent to crush the Western Mohammedans and to recover the great Central Asian district of Ili, a country where supplies for his men were unobtainable, General Tso succeeded by making his army plough, sow and reap during the spring and summer, and then pursue their military campaign during the autumn and winter. On his way back to Peking after many years' absence in north-western China, he passed within thirty miles of Tai-yuan, and all the high officials went to meet him. Some of them advised Richard also to go and pay his respects to the great man. At that time Richard had just completed an historical chart of the world, whereby a Chinese "in half-an-hour could obtain a better conception of the comparative history of the world

than any of their best statesmen had had before." This he took as a present to the Viceroy, who first received the officials in a group, and then gave his foreign visitor a private audience, keeping him till late at night, both thoroughly interested. He was also particularly desirous of showing Richard the products he had brought with him from the foreign woollen mill, which with extraordinary enlightenment and boldness he had built in the far western province of Kansu. In the end Richard, after explaining the work of famine relief, introduced the subject of religion. The Viceroy insisted that there was no real antagonism between Confucianism and Christianity, and that as long as the missionaries exhorted the people to do good the Chinese Government would have no objection to their work. Soon afterwards, when Tso became Viceroy of Nanking, he settled the difficulty of the American Methodist Episcopal Mission there by ordering the officials to grant them the permission, so long sought, to buy land for schools and hospitals.

Mrs Richard loyally seconded her husband in all his work, and took no mean part herself, amongst other ways by developing social intercourse with the leading families. She took a warm interest in Chinese music, which she was then studying, and on which she afterward lectured. She wrote a pamphlet on the subject, which was published in 1898. Richard also studied the subject, and found to his amazement that the Chinese already possessed a "Tonic Sol-fa system similar to that which Europeans had fondly imagined to be the latest product of the nineteenth century." It is a Tartar notation introduced to China about the tenth century A.D., and it does resemble the sol-fa system in that, strictly speaking, it has no "key" note, for whatever the key, its first note is "Ho." Mr and Mrs Richard also, for pastime, compiled a work in ten volumes illustrating the characteristic music of the races; but only one of the volumes was published.

One interesting outcome of this study was connected with a visit he was led to pay to the temple of Confucius just rebuilt by the new Governor, who afterwards became

the famous Viceroy Chang Chih-tung. Governor Chang had introduced into the temple a complete set of musical instruments like those maintained in the ancestral temple of Confucius in his native place. The man in charge of the new temple was training some thirty B.A.'s to play the instruments for the forthcoming sacrifices, and on Richard asking if he might be present at the next performance the conductor promptly called his students for an immediate rehearsal. The cacophony was excruciating, for not only was every instrument out of tune with itself, but even more in discord with its fellows. Richard ventured to suggest that to tune the instruments would improve the music, but the music master had to confess that he did not know how to do so. Happily Mrs Richard was able to instruct him, and to reduce to something like harmony the Confucian temple music of Shansi. It is extremely unlikely that any other missionary in China, at that period, would have been a welcome visitor in a Confucian temple, much less allowed, even if able, to tune the musical instruments.

Richard's influence on the Shansi officials was a very valuable contribution, not only to a better general understanding, but to the safety and welfare of missionaries and their converts. Many officials on receiving appointments came to thank him for his lectures, and told him that if any of his friends, meaning his fellow-missionaries, went to their districts he was to be sure to give them letters of introduction, and they would then be well cared for. These were not empty promises, for "at the end of eight years' work in Shansi there were fifty missionaries from Europe and America, with many mission stations, in the province, and not a single riot anywhere."

It was Richard who led the way in the establishment of friendly relations with the higher classes, and many missionaries afterwards found that the cultivation of official courtesies with Viceroys and Governors was invaluable for removing misunderstandings and reducing friction.

Desiring to understand Buddhism better, he went to live for a month in one of their chief local temples. To this monastery there came an Abbot from a distant centre to

ordain a hundred priests. Richard took his daily meals with him and found him a good man, but also discovered what a meagre training the ordinands had received. It covered a course of fifty days only, after which they received their diplomas, stamped by the Abbot. An educated monk is a rarity in China; and as to Buddhist philosophical works, it is doubtful whether one monk in a thousand can read, much less understand, them.

He also paid a visit to the mountain of Wu T'ai Shan. This is one of the most famous Buddhist centres of China. In July 1880 he set out, and in a few days was at the mountain, which rises 3600 feet above the sea. There he found 150 monasteries and lamaseries occupied by thousands of monks, belonging to two sects of Buddhists, the one the ordinary grey-robed monks of China, the other the yellow-robed and red-robed monks of Tibet and Mongolia, called lamas. Once a year a great religious gathering is held at Wu T'ai Shan, which also provides an opportunity for a great horse and mule fair.

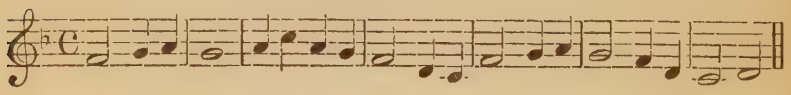
On arrival Richard, in his usual courteous fashion, sent his card to the Abbot, together with a present of a large coloured map of the world which he had carefully prepared, showing the various countries and places in Chinese characters. The Abbot immediately gave him an appointment, and the two had an interesting talk, in the course of which Richard explained his map, which was the first the Abbot had ever seen. On Richard telling him that he had come to study the Buddhist religion, and asking permission to be present at worship the following day, the Abbot willingly assented. This interview was with the Abbot of the Lama School of Buddhism which is dominant throughout Tibet and Mongolia.

"On arriving next morning I found the place thronged with crowds of Chinese and Mongols, through which it was most difficult to make my way. As I approached the 108 steps which lead to the temple court a number of servants with whips in their hands were waiting for me, and on seeing me began at once to clear a passage through

the mob with their whips. I was then led to a large courtyard and through another crowd to a platform, where sat a Chinese official, and a Mongol official and his wife, in red and yellow robes. I was invited to sit there with them.

"The worship began by the beating of a great drum to the accompaniment of some music. Then prayers were recited in a very deep bass voice (out-Russianizing the Russian priests). Next followed a most unexpected and surprising dance. A number of men appeared, wearing extraordinary masks on their heads, some like tigers, others like birds of prey, so that the assembly resembled what might have been a gathering of all the various animals of Egyptian mythology. After watching this religious dance I visited the chief temple of the Chinese Buddhists, where I witnessed a great contrast in their worship. Everything was most reverential and impressive.

"The music strongly reminded me of the Gregorian chants and responsive singing of the ancient Church. The priests were divided into two bands, one on the right of the aisle, the other on the left. One band stood with the palms of the hands pressed together in front of their faces, and sang in unison a verse of four lines, whilst the other band prostrated themselves in silence. By the time the prostration was finished these in turn took up the second verse, singing it standing, while the first knelt silently and bowed themselves to the ground. The chant they used was so sweet that I took it down and used it afterwards in Christian worship. Here it is:



Later he tried also to get into touch with the leaders of Taoism, but failed to find any centre for training their priests in Shansi. Nor did he obtain much satisfaction from the Taoist pope in Kiangsi, to whom he wrote for textbooks of their modern teaching. In reply he received merely some charms for warding off evil!

CHAPTER XII

T'AI-YUAN, CH'ING-CHOU & PEKING

IT must not be thought that the whole of Richard's time was devoted to the official and educated classes, or to literature. He and Mrs Richard carried on a school in which were sixty orphan boys; they also had seven elementary schools in surrounding villages; and, in addition to the regular religious services in town and country, he in person and by means of his assistants evangelized throughout his district.

About this time Mrs Richard wrote to her brother:

"In a former letter I have told you that we make it a rule *not to pay any native agent.* If the native church chooses to do so, good and well, but the Christians are instructed it is the bounden duty of *each one* to do what in him or her lies for the spread of the truth they have themselves received. They know it to be their duty and *they do* it nobly in very many instances. Women even leave their homes and go to live with friends in other villages and teach the women there for weeks at a time, such is their zeal. We have seven schools outside the city now where the boys we were supporting from relief funds are being taught. This has given employment to several teachers, a class of men who suffered much during the famine, for the people could not afford to have their boys taught. In these schools Christian books by general consent have been already introduced, for very many in these same places had eagerly learned prayers and a catechism my husband prepared for them."

It was in 1882 that Chang Chih-tung became Governor of Shansi. He was one of the greatest scholars in the Empire, but unfortunately at that time was also one of the leaders in the opposition to Prince Kung, who was working for a

better understanding with foreigners. He and two other able officials, full of national pride, were for a bold front to the insolent intruders. One of these colleagues was appointed Governor at Foochow, and as Admiral there he reported that the forts were impregnable. They may have been so at that time, but in 1884 the French, by a questionable stratagem, refuted this opinion. The attitude of Governor Chang and his friends towards the foreigner was unwise, but of the sincerity of their patriotism there was never a doubt. Governor Chang proved his sincerity throughout life by unremitting devotion to his people's welfare, and at his death, instead of being a millionaire, was deeply in debt. His conversion to more moderate views, and ultimately to a complete change of attitude, seemed hopeless when Richard first met him; but though his advent to Shansi boded ill for the foreigners, he tolerated their presence. His change of mind was not as yet, and when it did come it was partly as the result of what he learned from Richard and from his publications. By 1900 he was sufficiently enlightened to refuse to be carried away by the Boxer madness; on the contrary, he deliberately protected the foreigners throughout his Viceroyalty on the Yangtze. Later, in 1903, it was due to Viceroy Chang and his famous pamphlet on *Education* that the Empress Dowager and the Government were finally induced to change the entire system.

As might have been expected from so stalwart a minister of the Crown, on reaching Shansi he sought to devise means for the welfare of the province. Richard says:

"Finding in the archives of the Yamen in Tai-yuan-fu some suggestions of mine to the former Governor Tsêng Kuo Ch'uen to build railways, open mines, commence manufactures and industries, and found a college for modern education, he called together the leading officials and laid the suggestions before them, and afterwards sent a deputation to me of three officials, asking me to give up missionary work and enter the Chinese service for the purpose of carrying out my ideas. I replied that though I knew the value of those reforms, I was not an expert, and it would be

necessary for a number of foreigners to be engaged who were experts in their respective lines of work before the reforms could be carried out satisfactorily. The officials replied that the Governor understood that, but as I had the best interests of China at heart, he desired to find suitable men to carry out the various reforms under my direction. To this I replied that however important material advantages were, the missionary was engaged in work of still greater importance, and that I could not permanently leave the higher work for the lower. I therefore declined the honour and emolument.

"As there was danger of the river flooding the city, the Governor asked me to take surveys of the land round Tai-yuan and make suggestions for preventing future inundations. I asked Dr Schofield to help me in taking levels and photographs, and we reported our views to the Governor. He also asked me to get estimates of proper mining machinery for him, which I did.

"Before the Governor had made up his mind what to do in regard to his projected reforms, he was made Viceroy of Canton, to deal with the French who were making trouble on the borders of Annam.

"Later, when he was transferred to be Viceroy of Wu-chang, the suggestions made in Shansi were not forgotten. He founded steel works, started the railway, and began industries and modern colleges, such as I had suggested to him in Shansi. Once more I was asked to join his service, and once more I declined. I also felt that underneath this invitation there was a strong residuum of anti-foreign feeling which I feared might produce too much friction. He was about the only official at that time who seemed awake and in earnest. The rest were still asleep, or proud and indifferent to the sufferings of the people."

To a man like Richard, with his experience of the deep poverty of the people, and his breadth of sympathy with their needs, it must have been a struggle to refuse such tempting invitations, knowing the power for doing good a full purse rather than a very lean one would give him. But his

call was to the prophetic ministry rather than to the diaconate, and there were bigger things laid up for him to do.

"The greatest trial of a missionary" is said to be "his fellow-missionary." The remark of *Punch's* old butler, who under pressure confessed to his astonished lordship, and her more astonished ladyship, that he had "given notice" because he was "tired of their faces," may even find a parallel on the mission field. If of the same mission it may require grace to see only virtues and not defects during a constant and unvarying companionship. If of rival missions, the members may rarely see each other's faces! For instance, intercourse between Protestants and Roman Catholics has never been easy on either side; but Richard found himself able to make friends even with the priests. In Chefoo, one of his first friends amongst them was Father Angelini, who without invitation attended his wedding, and who when ill asked Richard, who called to see him, to pray with him!

On first reaching Tai-yuan, it will be remembered the Governor sent Richard to see the Catholic bishop. They became friendly and spent a part of three successive days in theological discussion, yet parted good friends! While Richard and his colleagues were away distributing relief, they rejoiced to learn that the bishop had offered public prayers on their behalf in his cathedral. Later Richard had an opportunity for doing the Catholics a service when the populace threatened to pull down the same cathedral. On the top of the building was an angel blowing a trumpet, and as it faced the direction from which the rain-wind comes, the people declared that this angel (to them "devil") blew the wind away. The Governor was inclined to take sides with the people, and sent a secretary to see Richard, thinking that he would support any view that was anti-Catholic. Richard's reply was: "Tell the Governor that the people are completely mistaken. That angel on the steeple of the cathedral merely represents a quotation from our Scripture, and has no magic influence such as the people think." He sent the Governor a copy of the New Testament showing the passage, and the angel—perhaps also the cathedral—was saved.

After this there was frequent friendly intercourse, and the bishop voluntarily sent instructions to his priests throughout the diocese to invite Richard to stay with them if ever he were in the neighbourhood. Such intercourse is rare. Richard gives another instance of this friendliness. Pope Leo XIII. divided China into five ecclesiastical districts, of one of which Tai-yuan became the centre. On one occasion the bishops of Shantung, Shensi, Kansuh and Mongolia —some of whom took over two months to make the double journey—met in conference in Tai-yuan. Richard was invited to dine with them and also to attend their conference. He did not intrude on their conference, but was delighted to dine with these bishops. Out of courtesy to him the conversation was conducted in Chinese, the *lingua franca* of the group.

The bishop occasionally visited at the Richards', and generally brought with him his organist, an Italian priest, when the harmonium did good service and gave much pleasure. Mrs Richard found that there were no European nuns in the province, for at that time the Catholic missions did not dare to send Sisters so far into the interior lest there should be evil rumours. But as the bishop had recently instituted a school for orphan girls, he asked Mrs Richard to get a sewing machine for them, which she did, and also taught the girls how to use it.

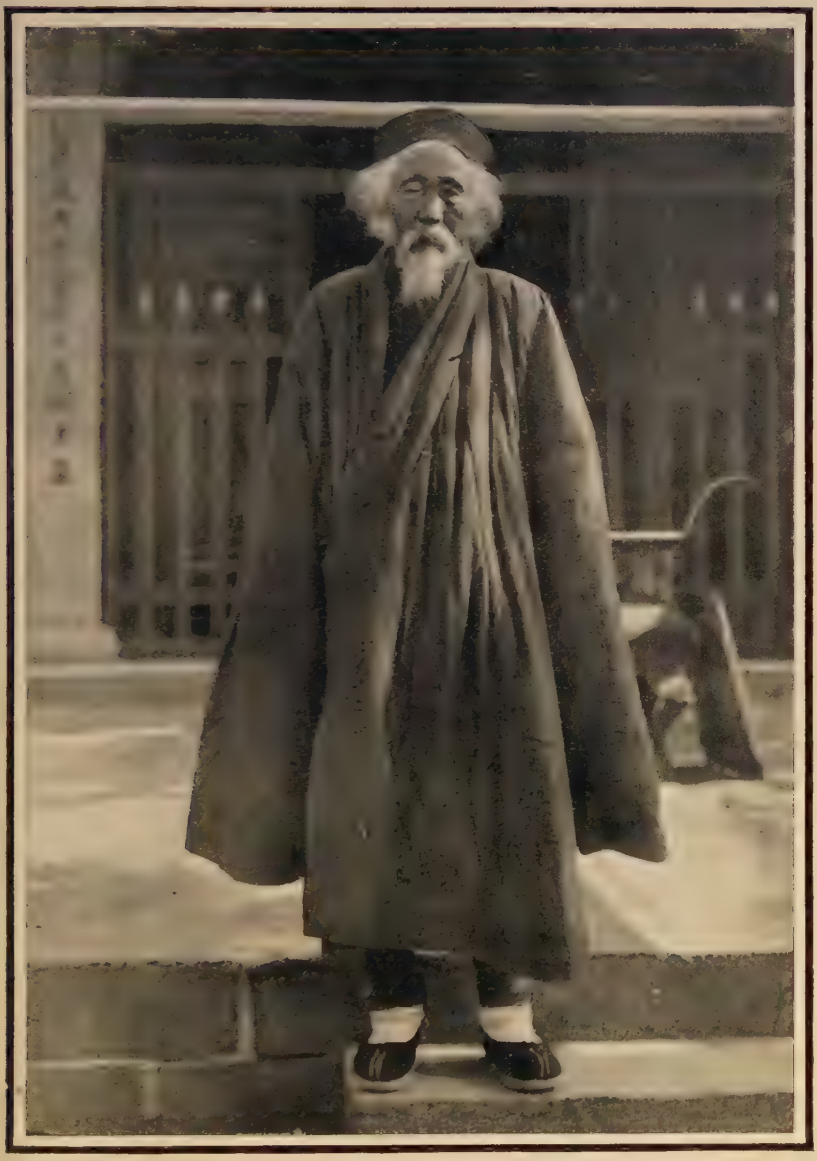
These things are mentioned to indicate the winsome nature of the Christian generosity of Mr and Mrs Richard. It provoked a gracious return from those who, directing a work which had been in existence for two hundred years, were naturally tempted to look upon these Protestant heretics as vexatious interlopers. This generosity had a less happy influence on certain of Richard's colleagues, as will be seen subsequently.

In 1882 he yielded to the urgent call of Mr Jones of Ch'ing-chou in Shantung, and his two young colleagues, to return for a time, as Jones was under the necessity of visiting home. Richard would have preferred to let the Chinese church there develop its own independence during Jones' absence, but yielding to a sense of duty, and encouraged

by his brave wife to do so, he set out. Of course they both "felt it keenly," and he "left home not with dry eyes," but proud of his wife and her devotion to their work. The rigours of the road made it impossible to take her with him or he would have done so. Her beautiful courage is shown in a letter she wrote to her sister-in-law: "Fancy if James had business that called him to Constantinople and the journey there was by slow daily stages in a rumbling, springless cart! . . . Do you think you would go if you were I? Further, suppose that by remaining you could keep your husband's business going steadily and go on doing something on your own account, would you not choose to stay behind?" It was well she did not go, as he had to travel for twenty-one days under a July sun. The heat was so great that one day even his Chinese carter was driven to exclaim: "It's raining fire to-day!"

On the journey, whenever he stopped for meals or put up for the night, he spent his time revising Chinese manuscripts which he was taking to have them printed in Shantung. On reaching Chi-nan-fu he put his manuscripts into the hands of a Chinese printer, but immediately became ill with that fell disease dysentery. The attack "grew worse day by day, till I thought my end was near. I wrote a farewell letter to my wife in Tai-yuan-fu and sent a message to Jones and to my young colleagues, 'Bury me in Ch'ing-chou-fu.'" In reply came Mr Kitts, the medical man of the Mission. He made the three days' journey in thirty-six hours, only to take to bed immediately with the same complaint. The following day Mr Whitewright, the other colleague, also made the journey in thirty-six hours, and shared the same fate. Mrs Kitts immediately came by chair, and, happily remaining free from infection, nursed the three sick men back to life.

One remarkable act, in those days incredible in any other part of China, was that the Governor of Shantung, hearing of Richard's illness, sent an official to attend on him and to remain till he recovered. On Richard calling to thank him, he ordered an escort to see him and his party safely to Ch'ing-chou-fu.



AN OLD TAOIST MONK

He is standing on the steps of his small temple in front of a bronze censer. Buddhist monks shave the head and wear yellow robes. The Taoist never shaves.

On their way there they spent Sunday at an inn in a small town. Richard asked the innkeeper what kind of harvest they had had.

"'A very good one,' he said.

"'Have you thanked God for it?'

"'No; we do not know how to thank Him.'

"'Do you think the people in the town would like to thank God for His goodness?'

"'I think so, but they do not know how to do it.'

"'Well, if you go to the leading men of the town, and tell them to come here by noon to-morrow, I will show them how to thank God. But I want only the elderly men and people. They are the only ones to whom I wish to speak.'

"Some forty people came at noon. I told them how all good things came from God, and that the least we could do was to show our gratitude in worshipping Him. After a general talk I told them that if they knelt I would kneel and speak to God on their behalf. Thus I offered prayer, and the people were as reverent as if they were in the habit of worshipping all the days of their life. When my thanksgiving prayer was over they asked me to teach them more of my religion. I promised to send an evangelist with books to instruct them. Thus we parted, having pledged each other to permanent friendship in the service of God."

He spent the autumn visiting the various churches widely scattered over the counties. It was a great joy to meet again those whom he had first led into the Faith. One of these, a man named K'u, with whom he had only held three or four conversations, had since been the means of establishing five churches. Asking the people there how they had first heard the Gospel, they replied:

"'From a man named K'u. He returned from visiting you in Ch'ing-chou-fu, and began preaching on the street, saying, "Repent, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand." We became alarmed, thinking he was proposing a rebellion. So we ran into our houses, and bolted our doors for fear of

compromising ourselves with him. But that made no difference to him. He walked slowly through the village preaching about the Kingdom of God and the Sermon on the Mount, and we, inside our doors, listened to his words.'

" This was the beginning of their interest in the Christian religion, and now there were five churches on the east of the river, all founded by him, showing clearly that the source of spiritual life is not to be found in human learning, but in communion with God."

In Mr Whitewright he found a colleague whom it was easy to inspire with his own views on the need of the general as well as the religious enlightenment of the people. They slept in the same room, and soon became unwell. " It's clear what is wrong with you both," said Mr Kitts; " you work hard all day and then talk hard all night. You do not get sufficient rest." They separated, and speedily recovered. Some years later, in 1887, Mr Whitewright opened his now famous museum, where he gave a course of lectures to students. In 1904 this was removed to Chi-nan-fu, where it is still thronged with people, popular lectures and religious addresses being delivered several times a day. The museum is a remarkable source of enlightenment, mental, moral and spiritual. Years later Mr Whitewright wrote expressing his deep indebtedness to Richard for his influence upon him, without which his remarkable institute might never have existed.

While in Ch'ing-chou Richard had an unpleasant experience with one of those " childlike and bland," but thoroughly delusive, tricksters not infrequently met amongst Chinese officials. Richard had rented a house in a good street without the least opposition, but had not yet taken possession when this new Magistrate came to his post. He was a Chin-ssŭ (LL.D.) and well informed. Immediately on his arrival he came to see Richard and, after half-an-hour's preliminaries, begged that the house be given up as the gentry and neighbours were opposed. Surprised at this statement, but wishful to oblige, Richard offered to give up the house if the Magistrate would secure him another. The latter pooh-

pooched the idea of a man as well known as Richard having any difficulty in securing a house, and assured him of his support; whereupon Richard went to his room, brought forth the contract and handed it over to the profusely courteous recipient.

A few days afterwards, during the Magistrate's absence, Richard secured another house, and got the two immediate neighbours to sign the contract as middlemen. Directly the Magistrate returned he came importuning that this house also be given up, as the owner, a widow, was in great distress and repented of her act, threatening to commit suicide, a thing he was sure so good a man as Richard would deplore. He also feared the rabble might set it on fire. "Who rules the city, the rabble or you?" asked Richard; and conscious that it was not his neighbours he had to fear, but this mealy-mouthed rascal, he told him that unless within two days the Magistrate gave his assent to the transaction he should go to Chefoo and put the matter into the hands of his consul. Two days passed, Richard's cart was at the door, when the Magistrate arrived, not to assent, but to beg the return of the contract. Richard declined to parley, got into the cart and set off on the long eight days' journey to Chefoo. The consul put the matter before the Taotai, who ruled about thirty counties, and he promptly issued a proclamation censuring the Magistrate and supporting Richard's right to rent the house.

The morning after his return to Ch'ing-chou who should arrive in state but the Magistrate, to all appearance Richard's best friend, saying he understood Richard had a magic lantern and would he show it him. Many a man would have declined further intercourse with such a man. Not so Richard. He entertained him with the lantern the same evening, and the whole city speedily knew of this visit, as also of the lantern. Next day a deputation of the gentry, most of them Richard's friends, waited on him to ask for an exhibition; so the trickster's obnoxious attempts only turned to "the furtherance of the Gospel."

During the winter Richard gathered the leaders of the churches, men and women, into the city for special Bible

study and teaching, and devoted himself to superintending the churches and evangelists. In the spring of 1883 Mr Huberty James, formerly of the China Inland Mission, joined the Baptist Mission, and being already well acquainted with the language, was able to relieve Richard, thus enabling him to return to his wife and the work in Shansi. On his way back, an inn in which he spent the night was raided by robbers; his only loss—not so small a one as people at home may think—was a case of condensed milk, which the robbers probably mistook for silver.

He arrived in Tai-yuan to find himself the father of his third daughter, already seven months old. Let those measure who can at what a cost to wife and husband this journey to Shantung had been made.

On 1st August 1883 there died in Tai-yuan, from typhus, a man of great ability and beautiful Christian character, Dr Harold Schofield. During his illness Richard helped Mrs Schofield to nurse him; but their labour of love failed to keep this fine man on whom the community was wholly dependent for medical aid.

In 1884 Prince Ch'un superseded his wiser brother, Prince Kung, as Prime Minister, and the war party being now in the ascendant, war with France over Annamese questions resulted, war which caused anti-foreign disturbances in many parts of China, and during which it fell to my lot to lose all my possessions, and nearly my life.

The backwash of the Tai-ping, or "Great Peace," rebellion was still making itself felt against Christianity; and the Franco-Chinese War only further embittered the country against all foreigners, not least against those who were propagating an alien religion. The churches in Shantung, which had been fairly free from persecution, were now constantly worried with official tyrannies. A similar condition existed all over China. The well-known anti-foreign and anti-Christian attitude of the officials agitated the otherwise comparatively indifferent people. The greatest Viceroys and Governors of the land, Li Hung Chang, Tso Tsung-t'ang, Chang Chih-tung, and others, openly showed their opposition to foreigners, and secretly instructed their sub-

ordinates to put every difficulty in the way of missionaries. The natural result was persecution everywhere, destruction of property, abuse, robbery and imprisonment of native Christians, and frequent attacks on missionaries. It is right to say that the real facts were recognized by Ting I-chang, Governor of Fukien, who boldly reported to the Throne that the chief source of missionary troubles originated, not with the foreigner, but in the unjust treatment of the Christians by the officials.

At last the Baptist Missionary Society instructed Richard and James to become its representatives and put the state of things before Sir Harry Parkes, the British minister in Peking. Arriving there, they found he had gone to Korea to ratify a treaty with the Emperor of the "Hermit Kingdom." While waiting in Peking they decided that one of the best available means of bringing influence to bear on the Government would be to create some sort of alliance amongst the missionaries themselves. An attempt had already been made in Shanghai to found a branch of the Evangelical Alliance, but credal differences had brought about failure. It happened that Dr Edkins of the London Missionary Society had numerous volumes of the *Evangelical Magazine* in Peking, and through these Richard searched for a creed that might be generally acceptable. Choosing the shortest, after nine meetings he secured the formation of a branch of the Alliance in Peking. Later, other branches were formed, with a central executive in Shanghai. It performed a useful service at the moment, but soon ceased to function. It now "exists to hold a week of prayer at the commencing of every New Year, but for the other object of its formation, that of averting persecutions, it has accomplished little." Nearly thirty years later the Continuation Committee of the Missionary Conference came into existence and was in every way more effective.

The question of the "status" of missionaries was also raised by him, but nothing was decided. He had no desire to emulate the "Catholic" priests, but only to help the Chinese to realize that Protestant missionaries were not mere private individuals, but representatives of great Christian

Societies. A few years later, yielding to pressure, the Government placed all "Catholic" priests in proportionate honorary rank with their own mandarins, and offered similar status to the Protestants, who wisely declined it. "The Roman Catholics not only assumed official status, but employed it politically, bringing their followers into frequent collision with the non-Christians."

The following proclamation, issued in 1864 by the Korean Government, then a part of China, shows how the Roman system had been studied:—

"1. That God was to be served by virtue and not by begging favours and forgiveness of sins.

2. That God was a Spirit, but Jesus Christ was a man among men.

3. That priests affirmed that the soul was more important than the body. As they are the teachers of men's souls, they must be obeyed rather than the parents and teachers of men's bodies.

4. That ancestral rites, which existed for the purpose of showing gratitude to ancestors and keeping them in memory, were forbidden by the foreign priests.

5. That the Pope claimed supreme obedience over and above that given to rulers; he was therefore like a robber or rebel disturbing the peace of nations.

6. That God had created mankind male and female, but the priests exhorted celibacy, paid no proper reverence to prince and father, nor due regard to husband and wife.

7. That the teachings about the Holy Virgin, spiritual fathers, baptism, confirmation, and salvation, were lies to deceive the people.

8. That since Jesus died miserably, Christians must be drunk or mad to say they fear no death."

Those were days when, in the Far East, sincere men were looking towards the future and endeavouring to open the eyes of the blind rulers. In Japan they succeeded, and the island nation became the Oriental leader in "civilization." The Chinese leaders were conservative, slow to move, and

disdainful, consequently China lost her leadership and to-day is reaping of these men's sowing, or neglect to sow. The Chinese higher powers were even more arrogant than the Manchus, whom to all intents and purposes they ruled. The responsibility for the present chaos is really less Manchu than Chinese. In Sir Robert Hart they had a wise adviser who could have rendered invaluable service, but they would not heed him. While in Peking Richard had conversations with him and Sir Robert one day showed him his scheme for reform. It included the securing of able men, opening of mines, river improvements, railways, a postal system, Government banks, and naval organization. At Sir Robert's request Richard also showed to him a summary of reforms he had at various times suggested to high officials. There can be no doubt that the country would have been saved if the advice of these two sincere and capable men had been accepted, the seer and the man of affairs, two men whose names became the most famous foreign names in China. But where Sir Robert Hart became known to hundreds, Richard became known to thousands.

The following is the list of proposed reforms submitted by Richard to Sir Robert:—

"1. To Governor Ting Pao-chên, of Shantung, I suggested the opening of mines and the manufacture of cotton goods in China.

2. To Governor Tsêng Kwo-ch'uen, of Shansi, the building of railways so as to check famines.

3. To Governors Tsêng, Li Hung-chang and Tso Tsung-t'ang and the Foreign Office, that the introduction of foreign education would save China from foreign wars and indemnities.

4. To Governor Chang Chih-tung I had explained:

(*a*) The revolution in industry produced by Bessemer's discovery in making steel and the facilities in Shansi for making rails for all the coming railways of China.

(*b*) I urged the opening of mines.

5. To Sir Harry Parkes and Yen King-ming, one of the

members of the Foreign Office, I pointed out the principles of religious liberty by which religious dissensions and strife were averted.

6. To Sir Robert Hart himself I proposed:
   (*a*) That a Commission headed by a Chinese prince, assisted by some leading statesmen like Li, Tso and Tsêng, should make a tour round the world to see the conditions of other countries.
   (*b*) That a Commission consisting of a number of the leading scholars of the Empire should go abroad and report on the educational systems of the world.
   (*c*) That a Commission of the most intelligent and devout should travel abroad to study the religious conditions of the world.
   (*d*) That a Commission should report on the industrial conditions of other countries.
   (*e*) That a Commission should be sent to study the various means of communication in other countries.
   (*f*) That a Bureau be established in Peking for making known these reports throughout the provinces."

On the return of Sir Harry Parkes to the capital the desired interview was granted, and a promise was readily given that in the case of serious persecution the minister would ask the Foreign Office to issue a suitable proclamation, Richard and James being requested to provide him with a draft. Sir Harry was " most impatient with the backward attitude of China as compared with that of Japan, and said it was most painful to have no social intercourse with the Chinese statesmen, but only discussions of cases in the Foreign Office, where each side strove to do its best for its own nationals and endeavoured to obstruct the others." Richard told of his own intimacy with the high officials in Tai-yuan and ventured to suggest a method of action. The next week he met Sir Harry on the street " radiant with satisfaction. He had invited some of the leading statesmen

to dine with him on the Queen's birthday, and all the invitations had been accepted."

During his stay in Peking Richard drew up a pamphlet showing the history and value of religious liberty, for circulation amongst high officials. After transmitting the draft of the proposed proclamation to Sir Harry Parkes, Richard and James parted company, the latter to return to Shantung, the former via the northern route through Kalgan, the gate to Mongolia, and then south to Tai-yuan.

CHAPTER XIII

FIRST FURLOUGH

AFTER fifteen years of unbroken and unique service in China Richard decided that it was his duty to return to England. Most of his life in China he had been a lonely pioneer, first for eight years in Shantung, then with his devoted wife for seven years in Shansi. Now he would take his experience home and discuss new projects for the extension of the Kingdom of God in China with his Committee at the base. Accordingly in the autumn of 1884 he found himself with his wife and four infant daughters on board ship in Tientsin, and soon afterwards in Shanghai. It was there my wife and myself first had the pleasure of meeting them, a never-forgotten privilege.

Mr Jones had just arrived in Shanghai from England, whence he had brought a party of new missionaries, so some days were spent in consultation together. After Jones' departure, David Hill, his beloved partner in famine relief, arrived from Hankow to bid him farewell. I had met Hill two years previously before going to China, and had been deeply impressed by his modesty and courtesy. The two men were anxious concerning the hostile attitude of the Chinese authorities to Christianity and the frequent attacks on missions. The Franco-Chinese War was then causing much unrest along the coast. My own station had been destroyed by rioters only a couple of months earlier, and the outlook everywhere was threatening. Richard and Hill decided to go to Nanking and see the Viceroy Tsêng Kuo Ch'uen, whom they had known during the famine in Shansi. He received them courteously, but the interview was fruitless, for he was " in no mood to take up the question of religious liberty."

It was during this visit that he first met the Buddhist bookseller, Mr Yang, with whom he formed an important

friendship, and who rendered him much valuable assistance on his again taking up the study of Buddhism. Mr Yang had visited Europe as an attaché to the Chinese Embassy under Marquis Tsêng, and had met famous Orientalists, such as Max Müller of Oxford, and Julien of Paris; as also Bunyo Nanjo, the Japanese Buddhist scholar, then in England. When Richard asked him how he, a Confucianist, became a convert to Buddhism, he replied: "I am surprised that you, a missionary, should ask that question. Do you not know that Confucianism shirks some of the great questions of life?" "That is true; but does Buddhism answer them?" queried Richard. "Certainly. And I will show you the book which converted me to Buddhism." Whereupon he gave Richard a copy of the *Ch'i Hsin Lun*, or "Awakening of Faith." Thus was the current of Richard's mind again turned in profound sympathy towards a religion that, when purged of its extravagances, is the only religion likely to rival Christianity in its endeavour to convert the world by the catholicity of its love.

Richard that night "sat up till the small hours of the morning reading the book which had converted the Confucianist to Buddhism." At length he called out to Hill, who was in the same room: "Listen! This is a Christian book. Though the terms are Buddhist, the thought is Christian." "Christian? You are reading your own thoughts into the book," replied Hill—perhaps not without a measure of truth. Nevertheless Hill also became deeply impressed as Richard read to him. Beal has described the book as "pseudo-Christian," but any direct Christian connection is still only surmise. More will be said later regarding Richard's work on Buddhism.

On his return to Shanghai the family set out for England by the s.s. *Ajax*. The Bay of Biscay hailed them with a terrific storm during which the vessel all but foundered, the passengers being kept below for three days. A patch of blue sky at last brought them relief, and in due course they reached port, "saved only by a miracle." Only those who have spent many years away from their beloved homeland can appreciate the joy of return. Nothing but fear of seeming

sentimental prevents their kneeling to kiss its wet earth. Its very mists seem the embrace of love—for a time.

Immediately after arrival he had to face that terror of many returned missionaries of those days, the Exeter Hall meeting. On this occasion the speakers who preceded him were the Rev. J. H. Shakespeare and Mr T. J. Comber of Africa, who thrilled the audience with their speeches. Richard had spent so much of his life in the interior of China that he felt unable to face such an audience without a manuscript. By the time he was called it was late and the audience began to melt away. He did not then understand that London people could better afford to miss a speaker than their last train home. When he sat down he had the miserable feeling that his speech had spoilt the meeting. Mr Baynes, in his usual kindly manner, comforted him somewhat by saying: "Never mind; it will read well." *The Christian World* had a leader on the two speeches of Comber and Richard, pointing out that a new era had begun, for the speeches of these two men had revealed the fact that the emphasis in missions had changed. Formerly the accent had been on "saving the heathen from the sufferings of hell"; now it was "to save the heathen from the hell of suffering in this world." Once more he had taken his stand among the small band of pioneers who risked their all in the interests of the Kingdom.

Mr Jones during his furlough had so stirred the Baptist Society with his account of the numbers of members and inquirers, greater then than those of any other Protestant mission in China, that the Committee had promised twelve men for Shantung and six for Shansi. Richard argued with them that if the twelve counties of Shantung needed twelve missionaries, the 108 counties of Shansi in which Christian work was being done deserved at least the same staff. But the project he sought to bring before the Committee was wider still. Impressed with the idea of reaching the educated class, which is everywhere the one most influential for good or ill, he proposed that future mission effort should chiefly take the line of education, and that Missionary Societies should unite to found, step by step, a high-class college in

each of the eighteen provincial capitals of China, beginning with the maritime provinces, in the hope thereby of influencing the leaders of the Empire to accept Christianity, and themselves to evangelize their fellow-countrymen. It was the vision of one who saw deep into the need of China, and was no "baseless fabric of a dream." He had read, marked, learned and inwardly digested the historical development of evangelization in Europe, and was convinced that greater progress could be made through the leaders of a nation than in any other way. "I am after the Leaders," he once said. "If you get the Leaders you get all the rest." "The Chinese nation," *The British Weekly* once quoted him as saying, "is led by comparatively few persons—mandarins and the educated classes—who number about 100,000. The supreme need of our day is to send out men who are competent to guide and instruct the thinking classes. When these are won for Christ the whole nation will follow." It was this profound conviction which made him urge upon the Baptist Missionary Committee the strategical plan for a country boasting of its scholarship, of reaching the whole country through higher scientific, moral and spiritual enlightenment.

The Baptist Missionary Society gave the proposal earnest consideration. They were impressed with the splendour of the scheme, but came reluctantly to the conclusion that the funds required were beyond the powers of their own and other societies. Richard, of course, was bitterly disappointed. Perhaps his scheme was premature. Who knows? Perhaps it was already too late, for mission methods were already "set," and it took many years against much opposition to alter them. Certain missions have continued to devote themselves to evangelization; others have accentuated education. In the long run the converts of the latter, in quality and number, have not proved inferior to those of the former, and their influence for good on the nation far surpasses that of the merely evangelistic missions. Richard was not interested in attacking one system in the interests of another—that is, the appeal to the educated as more honourable than the appeal to the poor. To him both classes equally needed the Gospel; the whole nation needed it. His quest

was the best way of carrying the life-giving stream most rapidly and effectively to all the people. And he was convinced that the least costly and most effective way was, not laboriously to pump the stream uphill, but to pour it downhill through the educated classes to the masses; or, if need be, to create a new educated class in a couple of generations through the efforts of educated Christian teachers on Christian students. There are Christian colleges in China and India which testify to the value of his contention, and it is probable that had his plan been adopted it would have put China and the Christian Church in a much more advanced position than either occupies to-day; for if, when the hour struck for the renaissance of China, the number of leaders trained in Christian institutions had been larger, the course of that renaissance would have been smoother and more effective. But the work of the Church was still the plucking of a few brands from the burning before it was too late, rather than the establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth. Richard honoured and loved these men, but he was for the Kingdom.

During his furlough his pen was busy. He wrote two pamphlets, *Fifteen Years' Mission Work in China*, and *Wanted, Good Samaritans for China*. Both appear in his *Conversion by the Million*. In his *Good Samaritan* he urged (1) the necessity of the young missionary being taught the native religions, and also mission methods, instead of being sent out totally unprepared for his new field of work as was then the rule; (2) the importance of a large increase in the number of trained Chinese agents through whom the people could best be reached; and (3) colleges for training these agents in the principal centres. He was convinced that China must be converted, not by foreigners, but by the Chinese themselves.

The depth of his distress at his failure to secure the adoption of his plans is shown by a note in Mrs Richard's diary:

" He came home in anguish after the Committee (General) meeting. Wrote to Mr Baynes in parabolic style pleading for

China most touchingly. . . . Tried seven times to write to Dr Glover . . . but his feelings were too strong for him. His seventh attempt fit to send, as he dwelt less on feelings and more on facts."

His regard for Dr Glover was very great, as was Dr Glover's for him. I remember hearing his son, Dr T. R. Glover, tell what an impression Richard made on him when he was a boy. He was staying in their home during his first furlough, and happening to find out late at night that it was the father's birthday next day, he went out in the morning before breakfast and bought him a present. It was a present of the simplest and yet showed where his heart lay. It was merely an outline map of the world on which he had written, "The field is the world"; but it was given in a spirit and manner that impressed both father and son, and the latter from that date began to think in world-terms.

When Richard's plan was discussed in the Committee there were members of it who could see through Richard's eyes; but those were still the days when some on the Committee were "rather shocked that he did not think human nature altogether bad, and that he believed Darwin knew more of science than Moses"!

Picture if you can this great-souled man with the burden of the hundreds of millions of China weighing on him, yet with eyes fixed on what seemed to him a clear way out of the depths into sunshine and happiness for them and for the world. Picture him with that way now barred by the refusal of his friends and supporters to sustain him up the arduous road. He had built his hopes on opening the eyes of his own people to see the need of adopting a method amongst an intellectual people like the Chinese different from that which might be best for lower races. The one great object of his return to England had failed. He blamed no one. If the fault lay anywhere, perhaps it lay in his own inability to make others see the vision as he saw it. Be that as it may, failure to secure the adoption of his plan led him "to realize that God would have me bear my cross alone, and that I must fit myself more fully for influencing the leaders of China." In

measuring others by his own larger standard he was living up to it, but neither men nor societies are all of a size, and he sorrowfully had to let others have their own way, even though to him their methods were wasteful and inefficient.

He therefore resolved to equip himself better in science, and consequently took a special course at South Kensington under Ayrton and Silvanus Thompson. Anxious also to study systems of education, amongst other places he went to Berlin, and, following his plan of always seeking out the leaders, he obtained an interview with the Minister of Education.

"I told him that I was a missionary in China, and was anxious to see the best systems of education introduced there. The Minister was a tall man, seated at the end of a table. When I told him my object in seeing him he pushed back his chair, rose up, towering apparently to the ceiling, looked angrily at me, and cried, 'And when you have educated the Chinese nation what will become of us?' He could not give me any help. Fortunately, the Vice-President of Education was a Christian, superintendent of a Sunday school. He most readily gave me all the information I desired. I also visited Paris with the same object—to see the Minister of Education there. But he was away. I was told that he wanted to strike out the name of God from all the Government text-books."

CHAPTER XIV

IN EXILE

LEAVING their two elder daughters at school in Sevenoaks, Mr and Mrs Richard, in the autumn of 1886, once more turned their faces eastward, taking with them the two younger daughters. Happily for them and their children the parting was relieved of some of its pain and anxiety by the kindness of Mrs Richard's brother and his wife. Having no children of their own, they undertook the care of the two who were left behind. It is one of the severest penalties, not only to missionaries, but to consuls, merchants and others who have to live in the confines of the earth, that they must leave their children behind. Happy are those who have trustworthy relatives or friends who will take the parents' place.

The journey on the s.s. *Oxus* brought him into contact with a number of Catholic priests, and his short way with the Romanists is best told in his own naïve way:

"In 1886, coming out in the French mail *Oxus*, I had eighteen Roman Catholic priests and sisters and also seven Protestant missionaries as fellow-passengers. Among the former was a priest about my age who was very zealous in placing Roman Catholic books on chairs and tables for the passengers to read. After observing his earnestness for some days, I said that I would like a talk with him. He replied that he would be glad to see me after dinner that evening. I began by saying that I admired his zeal in endeavouring to lead men to the truth. 'We are both going to China to try and lead the Chinese in the True Way,' I said. 'May I therefore speak to you frankly as a brother Christian?'

"'Certainly,' he replied.

"Then I began: 'One way of doing our work is to labour each for our respective faiths. But whether we belong to the

Roman Catholic or to the Protestant faith is to my mind a secondary question. The chief thing is to be faithful to God and to Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the World. Now I find that the books you are circulating are full of untruths, consequently you are not serving God. That is the rock on which the Roman Church will be shipwrecked, for God can never bless falsehood.'

"At this bold attack, spoken in as kindly a tone as I could command, his face turned white and he clutched his hands, a sign that his feelings had received a deep wound. He asked if I knew who he was. I replied that I did not.

"'I am the President of the Jesuit College in the Rue de Bac, Paris. I am astonished that you should say that I am circulating falsehoods.'

"I replied, 'One of the books you are circulating is *A Short Way with the Protestants*. I have read it. As I am a Protestant, you must admit that I know Protestantism better than any Romanist can. That book contains a number of false statements. I should be only too glad to see a man like you defending truth instead of a mere faction.'

"'Oh!' he cried, 'I know what I am talking about. It was my rule to have a discussion every week in the College on Catholicism and Protestantism.'

"'But did you ever have a Protestant,' I asked, 'to state the Protestant position?'

"'No.'

"'Then unconsciously you misled all your students by putting a man of straw, and not a true Protestant, before them for them to lay low by their arguments.'

"Eleven years later, a few days after my return to Shanghai from furlough, I found the card of Père Simon on my table. The name conveyed no remembrance to me, but I returned the call. When I was ushered in I recognized my old fellow-passenger of the *Oxus*. My frank speech had not alienated his friendship. He was soon afterwards consecrated Bishop, and I attended his consecration. Three months later he died of heart disease.'

"Some five years after this we had as a visitor in our home Miss Hughes, sister of Hugh Price Hughes, and formerly

Principal of a Training College in Cambridge. She had been lecturing in Japan for some fifteen months on education. As she wished to see the Jesuit educational institution at Siccawei, my wife and I took her there. The head, Père Boucher, was most kind, taking us round and showing us everything personally. While the ladies had gone to see the sisters in another compound he and I remained on the verandah waiting for their return. Through a window I caught sight of a photograph of Bishop Simon on the wall of a room inside. I remarked to Père Boucher: 'That is Bishop Simon. He was a very good man.'

"'Yes,' he replied, and then a smile broke out over his face. 'Do you remember the talk you had on the s.s. *Oxus* nearly twenty years ago? He told me all about it, and we have been watching you ever since.'

"Not long after, when my wife died, Père Boucher sent me a kind letter of sympathy."

Before reaching Shanghai Mrs Richard developed what was considered to be the disease of "sprue." It is a tropical complaint and at that time was generally fatal. Judging from the description given of her case, it seems more to have resembled chronic dysentery. After a fortnight's medical treatment in Shanghai, she improved so much that they set out for Shansi in the hope that the bracing northern air would restore her. Month by month, however, she steadily became worse, despite every medical effort. At last, when alone in the city with his apparently dying wife, a new book on the subject was lent him by Dr Edwards. Richard thereupon adopted the plan of stopping all food but milk, and of that only half-a-wineglassful every hour. In a month she was restored, to the astonishment of everybody.

We now reach the most painful period of his missionary career. To bear the buffeting of the non-Christian people by whom he was surrounded was a light matter and could be borne cheerfully. To be refused the adoption of plans so dear to his heart as those he had brought before the Home Committee was hard, but he could submit with a sigh to that decision. But when his own colleagues turned against him

and worked for his expulsion from Shansi—that was indeed a staggering blow both to his wife and himself. During his absence on furlough new, and therefore inexperienced, colleagues had arrived. They came under the influence of members of the other Mission, and turned eyes of criticism on him and his methods of work. Brought up in the orthodoxy of their day, they could only read heresy into Richard's actions. He was one of the pioneers in China of the love of goodness wherever it be found, of truth as Truth, from the lips of whomsoever it came, and of the effectual grace of God whether "covenanted" or "uncovenanted."

The grave misunderstanding of his spirit and aims is seen in the statement of one of his opponents, then of the other Mission, who declared that the real cause of his own estrangement from him was that he considered Richard taught a mixture of science, popery and heathenism for the Gospel of Christ, thus changing the object of his Society, an action which was dishonest. Therefore he declined to meet with him in prayer! A similar attitude was taken by some who resented a prayer offered by Richard on one occasion for God's blessing on the Roman Catholic Church in all that it taught of God's truth, and that it might be purged from its errors!

Some of those who drove him from Shansi died for the faith in 1900—all honour to them! They were conscientious men, but had not the grace to let Richard follow his conscience and work in his own way, as he would have them work in theirs. They could not see that the Great Shepherd has many kinds of sheep, and calls for different kinds of shepherds. Tai-yuan-fu sets most people's nerves on edge. Perhaps even Richard himself—a giant in bonds—may have found it difficult to suffer young, inexperienced critics gladly, especially seeing that all the work yet done had been done by him, and that both in Shantung and Shansi his methods and work had stood the test of time.

The story of his departure had better be told in his own words:

"When I returned to Tai-yuan-fu I continued my work

on the same lines as before, and published a tract on Taoism, acknowledging what was true in it and showing where Christianity had advanced beyond it. This acknowledgment of any good in the native religion was considered rank heresy in the opinion of some of my young colleagues, and my method of carrying on mission work was deemed highly unsatisfactory. They desired me to change my theological views and submit to their guidance. To neither of these proposals would I agree, first, because I believed my views to be in harmony with those of the most enlightened ministers at home, and, secondly, because I had had many years' experience in missionary work, while they had had none. I insisted, therefore, on having the same liberty of action as they claimed for themselves. Upon this they sent a long letter to the Committee, censuring me in regard both to my theological views and to my methods of work.

"Since my colleagues were in this mood, it was quite clear that we could never work harmoniously together. To remain would induce permanent strife, which would be fatal to missionary work. I therefore decided to leave Shansi. I informed my colleagues of my decision, and within ten days I had packed up everything with the exception of my scientific apparatus, which I sold at great reduction to various of the Chinese gentry, presenting my magic-lantern and hundreds of valuable slides to my colleagues.

"I found I would be too busy to pay a farewell call on the Roman Catholic Bishop, who lived about three miles distant, so I sent him a letter of farewell. Within a couple of hours he came to see me, and found me packing up my books, which were scattered all round the room. I asked him to look at them and choose any book he liked as a memento of our pleasant intercourse. He chose a beautiful volume published by the R.T.S. in London, *Those Holy Fields*. I wrote his name in the book, and so we parted. The last I heard of him was in the awful Boxer year. He advised his priests to flee from the city, but he himself determined to remain with his Christians. When the infamous Governor Yu Hsien superintended the massacre of the missionaries, men, women and children, in the city, the Bishop also was

put to death with the Protestants, thus testifying to the strength of Christian principle in both Roman and Protestant alike.

"On October 18th I took my family to Tientsin. There I had an offer of translation work for the Government at the Arsenal, with a salary of £600 a year, but I could not contemplate breaking with missionary work. So on November 14th I went to Peking, where I took a house which had formerly belonged to Bishop Shereshewsky, of the American Episcopal Mission.

"The London Committee suggested that we should return to Shantung, and I agreed to do so if they would allow me to establish a Christian College at Chi-nan-fu, the capital.

"Pending the reply of the Baptist Committee, I prepared a pamphlet on *Modern Education* as carried on in the seven leading nations of the world. In it I emphasized four methods of education—the historical, the comparative, the general and the particular. In other words, I showed how one must compare the progress of the various nations, that one must acquire a general knowledge of things, and exact knowledge of some particular department—that is to say, something of everything and everything of something. This pamphlet I distributed among the leading statesmen in Peking and presented to Li Hung-chang in Tientsin.

"In the pamphlet I suggested that the Chinese Government should commence educational reform by setting apart a million taels annually for it. To this proposal Li Hung-chang replied that the Chinese Government could not afford so great a sum. I answered that it was seed-money, which would be returned a hundredfold. He asked when that would be. 'It will take twenty years,' I replied, 'before you can realize the benefits of modern education.' 'Ah,' he rejoined, 'we cannot wait as long as that.'

"In this interview he also asked me, 'What good can Christianity do for a nation?' This most vital question decided me to write later a book entitled *Historical Evidences of the Benefits of Christianity.*

"Many years after I met a Hanlin who was in charge of a Chinese provincial college, who had read my pamphlet on

education. He told me that he had striven to carry out in his institution the methods I had pointed out."

With sad hearts Mr and Mrs Richard departed from the home and work they loved. They left Shansi to go into the wilderness, not knowing what their future was to be. The pathos of it moves one still as one looks back on those poignant days. Misunderstood, misrepresented, mistrusted, not by their Chinese converts, who loved them, but by their own colleagues who had come to share their labour of love: no wonder Mrs Richard found the ninth anniversary of their wedding day anything but a cheery one. It had to be spent on the road, and when evening came the only inn they could find was one of the most miserable character. But she was too brave to complain.

Years later she wrote in her diary that during her illness in 1887, when they were both "suffering from persecution for heresy—even dear friends . . . turning against us," she was reading in the Gospels early in the morning the passage of the healing of the woman by the touch of the hem of Christ's garment. ". . . I could not touch His garment, but I might touch one of the most Christlike of His followers"—eloquent testimony from one who knew him best.

They left, but, as one of the Shansi missionaries afterward said, "Wherever the missionaries went in Shansi people asked affectionately after Li T'i-mo-t'ai," for, as the one who conveyed this news added, "You've left a trail of light behind you."

The following letter from the Rev. R. H. Roberts, one of the members of the Baptist Missionary Committee, throws a light on the generous spirit which that Committee has ever shown towards its representatives, not least towards Dr Richard:—

"The matter by which I have been most affected of course has been the unhappy controversy in China, and the correspondence which has been going on between yourself and other missionaries and the Committee at home. May I say first, that, through it all, no feeling but that of the highest

esteem for yourself, your character, your religious fervour, your missionary enthusiasm and zeal, has been cherished or expressed by any member of the Committee. Not a word has been read to us in any of your letters that has not impressed us more deeply than before with your self-command, your moral dignity, your imitation, or rather shall I say your in-drinking, of the Spirit of Christ.

"Then, secondly, as your aims have been more clearly understood, they have been more profoundly sympathized with; and as the Committee came to perceive more plainly the occasions which gave rise to your books and the immediate purposes they were intended to serve, astonishment excited at the beginning, and perhaps some measure of suspicion, have given way to appreciation of your meaning and methods. This was especially so after reading your last letter in answer to . . . (the last, that is, I heard in Committee). When it was ended there was not a man who did not feel more than ever impressed with the grandeur of the results to be obtained among the heathen, and frankly acknowledged the wisdom of your words and the devoutness of your tone. We were every one of us lifted up and inspired by the reading of it.

"Please tell Mrs Richard, with my best love, that we highly value her letters to the Sunday school. Whenever one arrives I always go down to read it to them and we have a good time."

In due course they arrived in Tientsin, where he devoted himself for a short time to study and writing while awaiting news from the Committee. Later he went on a visit to Peking, and feeling that he could do better work in the metropolis, removed his family there. It was a great consolation to Mr and Mrs Richard to receive a letter from his old friend Jones of Ch'ing-chou conveying an invitation from the members of the mission there, urging that he should come at once and join their staff, Mr Jones generously insisting that he should take the premier position. More will be said on this point presently. In the meantime, while not declining the invitation, he felt he must remain in Peking.

A Lama

Lama and his acolyte each with a *sutra* on his knee, of which he probably knows very little. Lamaism has its centre in Tibet, and is also the prevailing form of Buddhism among the Mongols.

While there, his devoted wife, whose strength of character was equal to her husband's, and who shared his whole life on terms of equality, helped him in his literary work. In addition she undertook the teaching of English to three Japanese on a system of her own, the natural way rather than by "grammar"—a method which others also have discovered to be the more effective. The reading of English books made these young students feel the need of some knowledge of the Bible. St John's Gospel proved the gateway into the kingdom, and all three young men sought baptism. One of them was the son of the Japanese minister, and the others were secretaries of the Legation. Richard considered it his duty to interview the minister in order to learn his views on the subject. The minister replied that when he was in Europe he found that of all those he met the Christians were the best; so if his son and the other two were bent on being good Christians he only wished them well. All three were baptized.

Marquis Tsêng, the first Chinese minister in London, after his eight years abroad, was then in office in Peking, and he begged Mrs Richard to teach his son, which she did; as also the grandson of the Canton Viceroy. Richard became friendly with the Marquis during 1888 through being able to supply him with figures no one else in Peking possessed. The Marquis was advocating the building of a railway between Peking and Tientsin, against which the carters had poured in petitions. Prince Ch'un inquired of the Marquis what had been the effect of the introduction of railways on the coachmen and cabmen of London. Richard was able to supply him with exact dates and figures, much to the delight of the recipient. The Marquis also became enthusiastic over Richard's scheme for modern education, and urged him to circulate it amongst the high officials. His own subordinate position at the Foreign Office and his pro-foreign sympathies, had made him an object of suspicion, and in consequence he feared to become its protagonist. Unfortunately he died in 1890, before being able to apply his store of Western experience for the benefit of his country.

Having to read a paper on *The Influence of Buddhism on*

China before the Peking Oriental Society, of which most of the leading members of the legations, as well as the missionaries, were members, he studied the subject in Chinese histories, but also decided to visit the chief lama of Tibetan Buddhism in Peking. Tibetan Buddhism is the prevailing form from Tibet to the Pacific among the nomad peoples, and has important centres on the northern borders of China proper. Richard, like myself, had had one quite sufficient experience of the savagery of the Mongol lamas in Peking, so on this visit he sent his card direct to the chief lama of the Yung Ho Kung, together with a present of an electric bell. No one in the huge monastery knew how to work the bell, which possibly made the chief lama all the more willing to receive the donor. Richard took with him Mr Shorrock, then newly arrived, and happily both were hospitably received. He soon put up the battery and bell in the room of the lama's own servant, and carried the wire a good distance to the lama's room. When the connection had been made and the button was pressed the servant came eagerly running to announce, " It's ringing! It's ringing! " much to the delight of his master, whose admiration for the miracle-worker was no doubt greatly enhanced.

Discussing lamaism with him, Richard asked whether it were flourishing or waning. The Abbot replied it was certainly on the wane; but when asked if that were not discouraging, to Richard's surprise he answered: " No; just as there is a tide at sea so there is a tide in religious affairs. Though at present it is ebb-tide in lamaism, flood-tide will come again." As the result of their conversation Richard came to the conclusion that the Abbot was in Peking more as a political agent than as a religious teacher.

On another occasion he interviewed the chief Chinese Buddhist monk in Peking. There is a head monk in each provincial capital of China proper, but in those days the Government wisely permitted him no legal authority over the monks, limiting his powers to those of moral suasion. The head monk in Peking was a gentle, intelligent man of over sixty. Amongst other questions he asked Richard: " Who sent you to China ? Your sovereign ? " This was a

common belief among the people, missionaries, to their disadvantage, being generally looked upon as political agents. "No," replied Richard. "I would not have come to China if I had not felt that God had sent me." "How do you know what the will of God is?" was his next question, and Richard does not give us his reply, but draws attention to the fundamental character of the question, and urges that Buddhism be not judged by the ignorance of the ordinary monk, but by the influence its philosophy has had on great minds in China.

During the spring of 1888 he visited Japan to study mission methods there, and became more convinced than ever that the educational proposals he had put before the Baptist Missionary Society were justified, as remarkable success was attending somewhat similar methods in Japan. He had continued to urge his policy on the Baptist Missionary Society, but the Committee still failed to see its way to adopt it, as, no doubt with sufficient knowledge of the home situation, "they considered that the churches would not approve of such a use of their Mission funds." It need be no matter of surprise that at this time Richard, with deep reluctance, was driven to consider the severing of his connection with his beloved Society. Jones wired from Ch'ing-chou urging him not to do so, and came purposely to beg him to rejoin the Shantung Mission. In consequence Richard went there in September for consultation on the spot.

"There I met all the brethren, and frankly told them my opinions, and how if I came to Shantung I wished for the establishment of a Christian college in Chi-nan-fu and the assistance of ten evangelists, who would be under my sole control. I pointed out to my colleagues, as I had done in Shansi, that I did not wish to limit their liberty, nor would I submit to having mine limited by them. Co-pastorates of two men were proverbially difficult at home, but a co-pastorate of a dozen men on the mission field would be utterly impracticable. There must be a division of labour, and each missionary must be free and yet responsible in his sphere of work."

Another distressing famine having occurred in Shantung, his colleagues begged him to come to their assistance. Accordingly in May 1889 he removed his family from Peking to Tientsin, and set out alone for Shantung. There he unsparingly devoted himself to the relief of the sufferers in and around the provincial capital, Chi-nan-fu. Not only did he distribute material relief, but sent out native evangelists two by two throughout the district. Famine fever again laid its fell hand on the famine-stricken, and Richard himself became a victim to it. His recovery was slow, and his right arm became affected by malarial paralysis, or was a sequel to famine fever. From this he suffered much pain. Meanwhile Mrs Richard, who had also been seriously ill in Tientsin, was sent by medical orders to the seaside resort of Chefoo. When Richard was fit to travel he made his way there by road, joined his wife, and they spent three weeks together recovering their health, returning in due course to Tientsin.

The following letter to his daughters at home throws light on his experiences during the famine:—

"*June* 14, 1889.

"It is now two months and a half since I left Tientsin, where your mother and Florrie and Maggie are, and I have been all this time in the Famine District. That part of it where I have been giving relief to the poor sufferers is about 300 miles from the sea-coast. I propose to give you some account of it in this letter. Some eight years ago the Yellow River, one of the greatest rivers in the world, broke its banks and flooded no less than seven counties in this region. The water was like the sea breaking in, all over the country, sweeping away men, women, children, horses, cows, trees, mules, houses and even villages by the rushing flood, carrying everything with it towards the sea. After a time the flood subsided, and where there was once a rich country full of waving corn and splendid orchards and happy homes and villages, now there remained but ruined houses; the whole country was covered as far as eye could see with nothing but sand left by the floods, and the temples which

once stood on high ground in the villages and towns were about the only buildings that had not fallen before the flood. The temples are also as a rule better built with brick and mortar, and therefore could withstand the force of the water better than most houses. But the strange thing about these temples now is that they are all buried in the sand, some half-way up the doors, some as deep as the top of the windows, and some even beyond the eaves of the roofs. So temples and gods are buried together!

" But here and there were a few patches where the people could cultivate a little land mixed with much sand. So the people that were once rich and had plenty were now among the poorest in the land. The people were loath to leave their old land although it was almost useless and in many cases utterly so. Where could they go to? China is so full of people everywhere that the poor people did not know what to do. Many tried to get work in the surrounding towns and villages where the floods had not reached, and thus lived from day to day on the earnings of the day. Further, the sand is very fine, and when the wind blows it drifts like snow before the wind. Sometimes it is carried high into the sky in thick dust-clouds, and sometimes carried away ten, twenty or even a hundred miles off! So the people live in hopes that in about eight years, if there is no more flooding of the Yellow River, then much of the sand would be blown away and they would recover their land again! That is why they cling to their old buried villages and towns. But they have been repeatedly disappointed. The Yellow River has broken its banks many times since the first flood. Last year there was an unusual fall of rain all over a very large part of the province, say about thirty counties. The crops rotted in the water. When in addition to the seven counties formerly flooded by the Yellow River, the surrounding twenty odd counties were suddenly deprived of their harvest, this made a great famine all over this part of China.

" Letters were sent to England by the English missionaries. American missionaries wrote to the United States to ask for money to save these people from starvation. Large sums of money were subscribed by good people in England

and America. Over twenty missionaries, men and women, were engaged in enrolling the names of the poorest in the towns and villages for regular relief. Relief was given them once a week, and about 300,000, nearly a third of a million, people were thus being regularly relieved for some time.

"You will learn from your teachers that wherever there is a famine it is always followed by what is called Famine Fever. It is also called Typhus Fever, and there are various varieties. But usually rich and poor are equally liable to get it. An attack lasts for about three weeks. About a third of those who get it die of it. The rest after about three weeks recover. Your dear mother had this Famine Fever about twelve years ago after the Great Famine which we had then. You will be sorry to hear that though I escaped the Fever that time I did not escape it this time. For some days the temperature of my body ranged between 104 and 105, which is considered very dangerous if it lasts long—few are able to recover from it. But I am thankful to say all the fever has left me now and I am gaining strength rapidly. In about a week I hope to be strong enough to travel to the coast to your mother. She has not known of my illness. I am writing to her to-day. If she had known, the weather was too hot, the distance too great, and travelling in mule-carts would be only to endanger her life. Now, however, all is well again. Let God be thanked for His mercy. Be thankful that you live in a land of so many privileges."

While he was in Ch'ing-chou-fu all the twelve members of the Mission met together and unanimously appealed to the Baptist Missionary Committee to support Richard in establishing a college in the provincial capital of Chi-nan-fu. The opportunity and the man were unique. He was well known, possessed the confidence of officials and people, had just won their regard by a great scheme of Famine Relief, the need for modern education was manifest, and its future influence on the Christian enlightenment of the province was incalculable. The men on the spot had no doubt that their unanimous request would be supported by the Committee. Desiring nothing better than to remain

a Baptist missionary and to carry out this fine educational plan, on reaching Tientsin he set to work and packed all the family belongings for removal to Shantung. At this point, however, his medical adviser intervened and counselled delay, warning him that to travel in his then state of health was most indiscreet and would almost certainly result in a serious relapse. His arm was still giving him much trouble and he was unable to write. In consequence he postponed his departure, and devoted himself amongst other things to the dictation of his book on *The Historical Evidences of Christianity* and its value. In addition to her household duties, Mrs Richard acted as his amanuensis.

At last, in October 1889, the long expected decision of the Committee arrived. It was adverse. Instead of consent to found a Christian college there came an invitation to him to return to Shantung and align himself with his colleagues there. He was the last man on earth to count himself better than they, but his mind and modes of work were different. He consulted trustworthy and experienced friends in Peking and Tientsin, placing the whole situation before them. They could not advise him to accept the conditions offered. Happily for himself and others he declined the invitation of the Committee.

Now it became necessary for him to earn a living for himself, and yet at the same time to maintain his divine vocation. It would have been easy for a man of his gifts, knowledge of the language and personal magnetism to obtain ample rewards for his services, but he was first and foremost a Christian missionary, pledged to do his utmost to establish the Kingdom of God on earth, a Kingdom never to him a material one, but eminently spiritual.

While his future was still in the balance the second General Missionary Conference was held in Shanghai. It was a remarkable Conference. There were 400 representatives present, chiefly from various parts of the Great Empire. "In regard to distance of members it resembled a European Conference, for instead of reckoning the distance travelled by hundreds of miles, it had to be reckoned by thousands. There were people from Peking and Mukden

in Manchuria in the north, and from Canton in the south, and even papers read by workers in Singapore. We had missionaries from Japan and Korea in the east, to Yunnan and Szech'uan in the west bordering on Burmah and Tibet." Nor must mere geographical distance be considered, but the slowness and difficulty of travel.

Famine relief had prevented him attending the first Conference in 1877; this time he was able to be present, and again I had inspiring intercourse with him. The Conference was held in May, and Richard was appointed to read a paper on "The Relation of Christian Missions to the Chinese Government." In that paper he drew attention to what might be called the Blue Books of China, of which a new and cheap edition was then being republished. These books contained the vilest calumnies against the Christian Church. He was of opinion that this reissue would fan to a flame the dormant fires of persecution, an opinion which subsequent events confirmed. In his address he urged that a memorial be presented to the Throne clearly stating the true objects and spirit of Christianity, and appealing for the withdrawal of the calumnious publications.

After the Conference he went to Nanking and interviewed the Viceroy Chang Chih-tung, hoping to induce him to take steps for the suppression of these books, but in vain. On returning to Tientsin he laid the matter before Viceroy Li Hung Chang, who also declined to take action. Probably both Viceroys were aware that any intervention on their part would be ill received in Peking, so the vile books were allowed to spread their poison over the land.

Shortly afterwards Viceroy Li and some personal friends invited Richard to become editor of a local Chinese daily, the *Shih Pao*, or "Times." "The appointment was most providential," says Richard. Now at last he had found a pulpit from which he could speak, not merely locally, but to thousands in other parts of China. He soon settled to the work of editing one of the earliest newspapers in North China, and wrote articles regularly on subjects bearing on Reform. He also published a weekly edition containing articles and diagrams showing the relative areas of popula-

tions, railways, telegraphs and commerce, from which it was evident that, economically considered, China was proportionately the most backward of the nations. These diagrams probably proved one of the greatest forces in compelling intelligent Chinese to face the facts of the situation and advocate reform. Much interest was evoked by his articles in many parts of China, and as far away as Nanking Viceroy Chang Chih-tung wired for copies to be sent direct to him regularly. Other high officials also ordered the weekly, and the daily was read in the Palace and its contents discussed both there and in the Foreign Office.

During 1890 the late Tsar of Russia, then heir-apparent, travelled to the Far East in order to turn the first sod of the Trans-Siberian Railway. He was desirous while in the East of visiting Peking, a desire which greatly perturbed the Chinese Government. For weeks Richard described in his paper the visits of European princes to each other, and the value of such visits for mutual goodwill, at the same time urging that China also should send princes abroad. These articles undoubtedly helped to relieve the anxiety of the Government and to prepare the way for the reception of the Tsarevitch.

Mrs Richard did valuable service during the winter of 1890 by training a class of fifty Biblewomen for the American Episcopal Methodist Mission. She took as one of her subjects her husband's *Historical Evidences*, and showed these women how the light of the Gospel had spread from one nation to another. When spring came the women went their several ways. One of them, during the following summer, was the means of bringing in a hundred inquirers, another one fifty, and so on. "This proved for the hundredth time the fact that the natives can best influence their fellow-countrymen to join the Christian Church."

In 1890 the Baptist Missionary Society sent out as a deputation Dr Richard Glover and the Rev. W. Morris, and Richard rejoiced in the prospect of their visit. This visit had important consequences on his own future as will soon be seen.

It was in 1891 that the call came which settled the future

of his life's work. In May of that year there died in Shanghai Dr Williamson—a man as great mentally as he was physically—the founder of the Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge among the Chinese. After his death the Committee of that Society saw in Richard a man with the right vision for its direction, and accordingly invited him to succeed Dr Williamson. Having experienced the widespread influence of a local newspaper, he was convinced that he could reach a national public from Shanghai better than from Tientsin. Moreover, the sale of the *Times* did not meet the expenses of publication, for the day of the profit-making native newspaper had not yet dawned, though it was soon to come.

Richard was deeply impressed by the call, but the financial condition of the Diffusion Society did not enable it to offer him a salary, all its income being required for the publication of its literature. The aim of the Society was to be something more than a Tract Society. It desired to bring works of general, as well as religious, enlightenment, written by Christian men, within the reach of educated Chinese. In consequence it looked to the various Missionary Societies to allocate and support scholarly workers. Happily it was at this juncture that the Baptist Missionary Society deputation visited China. Dr Murdoch of the Christian Literature Society of India was also on a visit there. He met the Baptist deputation, pointed to the fact that his own Mission in Scotland supported him, as it had also supported Dr Williamson, and urged that the Baptist Missionary Society should undertake this important responsibility. Later the deputation and Dr Murdoch put the case before the Baptist Missionary Society, with the result that the Committee agreed to support Richard for three years. It could hardly have done less for the founder of its Missions in China.

On 18th September Mrs Richard wrote to her brother:

" The telegram came yesterday. ' As God wills ' was ringing through my heart as I went upstairs to learn the contents. Those three words have been our motto for some time. It is nearly four years since we left Shansi, and this is the first

satisfactory settlement of our affairs in all that time. This will probably be our work for the remainder of our lives."

—a prophecy which was fulfilled.

In October 1891 they removed to Shanghai, where he took up the position of Secretary to the S.D.K., whose title in full was "The Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge among the Chinese," a title many years later altered to that of "The Christian Literature Society of China," or, in brief, C.L.S.

In closing this, the first half of his life in China, perhaps one may summarize it as the formative half. The rest of his work was the outcome of his twenty years' experience in the field. Arriving at first, like the rest of us in those days, totally ignorant of the people, their religious and moral ideals, their character, customs and language, unhampered by any knowledge of methods for conveying his message or founding Christian communities, he was plunged into the great adventure of a pioneer missionary's life to win through as best he could. Richard was the real founder of the Baptist Mission in Shantung, as he was the sole founder of that Mission in Shansi. His methods were adopted and developed by his colleagues in Shantung, and the Mission has been a great success. Unwisely his inexperienced colleagues in Shansi virtually drove him from their midst, otherwise there is every reason to believe that Shansi would have become one of the most remarkable Baptist mission fields in the world. To-day it is the spirit of Richard which is doing the greatest work in Shansi, for though the Church has lamentably failed to rise to unique opportunities such as have never been offered to any other mission in China, Shansi, we are told on reliable authority, is the best-ruled, most progressive, and educationally the most advanced province in the country. Opium was extirpated in 1910, and though other provinces have relapsed to a condition as bad as, or worse than, before, Shansi resolutely keeps its face set against the growth of the drug, profitable though it would be to the tax-gatherer. Had there been no Timothy Richard such would not have been the case. His spirit touched the spirit of Shansi and awakened it from

its moral and spiritual slumber. Thanks to Timothy Richard there is no province in China to-day more ready to receive an enlightened presentation of the Gospel than is that of Shansi. Whether the veritably " simple " Gospel of Our Lord will be offered—*or sought*—is, I believe, only a matter of time. If the leaders of thought in Shansi are wise they will seek it for themselves, independently of existing organizations, and found and develop their own community expression of it.

CHAPTER XV

CHRISTIAN LITERATURE SOCIETY WORK IN SHANGHAI

THE Chinese Book and Tract Society was the root out of which grew "The Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge" (S.D.K.). Founded in Glasgow in 1884, the Book and Tract Society was dissolved in 1887, when its printing press and other property were transferred to the S.D.K. Glasgow has remained loyal to the work of the newer Society.

The founder of the S.D.K. was the Rev. Alexander Williamson, LL.D., of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland. Its object was "the circulation of literature based on Christian principles throughout China, her colonies and dependencies, literature written from a Christian standpoint with a knowledge of native modes of thought, and adapted to instruct and elevate the people, especially through the more intelligent and ruling classes." Dr Williamson made Shanghai his centre, and in 1889 began the publication of the *Wan Kuo Kung Pao*, or "International Review," commonly known as *The Review of the Times*, which was edited by Dr Young J. Allen of the American Methodist Episcopal Church South. No magazine ever published in China has had so far-reaching an influence as this had during the editorship of Dr Allen. Mr D. S. Murray also started a Chinese *Boy's Own Paper*, under S.D.K. auspices.

Lack of funds compelled Williamson to give up his printing office in 1890, when the plant was sold to the National Bible Society of Scotland for use at Hankow. In August of the same year this large-hearted man died. "The amplitude of Dr Williamson's physical proportions was indicative of his great and diversified talents. From his towering height he seemed to see afar off the end he desired to attain, and he hoped to make the successful institution the crowning glory of a long life"—so spake Mr John Macgregor of Jardine, Matheson & Co., one of the Society's Trustees.

Sir Robert Hart was President of the S.D.K. till his decease in 1911. Mr C. S. Addis (now Sir Charles, and a Governor of the Bank of England) was Honorary Secretary when Richard joined it. After Dr Williamson's death, for over a year it was without a Director, so that when Richard became Director, and its only whole-time member, he had indeed a heavy task facing him. Dr Allen, being Principal of the Anglo-Chinese College, could only spare time for his monthly magazine, the *International Review*. Dr Faber was the other great literary power of the S.D.K. He was a German missionary, a profound student of Chinese classical literature, and his writings in German, English and Chinese are well known. "He was also a weighty man of dry humour." The General Committee of 1890 had requested him to write a Christian Commentary on the Chinese classics. As years passed and nothing appeared, a friend one day asked him: "Where is that Christian commentary of yours which so many people are looking forward to seeing?" In his slow, deep voice he replied: "It is in the ink-bottle." Once when asked what kind of work he was doing he replied: "I am engaged in the conversion of the Chinese mind"—which indicates his proper understanding of the important word metanoia. He died of dysentery at Tsingtao in 1899, the modern specific for that fell disease being then unknown. His able book on *Civilization*, a comparison of Chinese and Christian civilization, had a wide sale, especially after it was taken over and republished by the S.D.K. Williamson, Allen, Faber, Richard, these were the four men who built and launched the S.D.K. Other fine workers followed—Cornaby, Kranz, MacGillivray, Morgan, Rees, A. P. Parker, E. T. Williams—but none has surpassed these four.

Richard's aim for the S.D.K. may be seen in his 1891 Report, issued soon after he took office. The general ideals he there presents are those arising out of vision and experience.

"The generosity (he says) of the foreign communities in China and at home has repeatedly been shown in response to appeals for famine relief; but when through

ignorance many of the preventable causes of these famines are not removed, there is a growing feeling that the best way of helping China is to give such kind of enlightenment as this Society attempts to give. We cannot even *dream* of establishing modern schools throughout the Empire; this will be the province of the Chinese Government after it somewhat understands its own needs and how to meet them. Nor do we intend to reach all the mandarins in the Empire. Much less can we reach every one of the *literati*, who play such an important part in the government of China. Still, the chief mandarins, together with the High Examiners, Educational Inspectors of counties, Professors of colleges, and a small percentage of the *literati*, with some of the ladies and children of their families, might be reached. (This number was estimated at 44,036.)"

In 1892 he wrote to a number of leading missionaries and others for suggestions as to the literature most needed for general enlightenment. As the result he secured a list of twenty-seven subjects, and the promise of over twenty assistants willing to undertake either translation or original work. It is all very well to create books and general literature, but it is equally important to reach one's public. Distribution of the proposed literature was a problem of its own. The difficulty in this respect was increased by the cost of printed books and the lack of funds for free distribution. All the Society's books had to be distributed by missionaries, for Chinese bookshops would not touch them. It must be remembered that at that time China was asleep. The great awakening blow of the Japanese war of 1894 had not yet been dealt. The Chinese were not yet ready to buy foreign-produced books which upset age-long doctrines and systems, any more than we are willing to pay for anarchist literature to-day. With the meagre funds at his disposal Richard arranged for free distribution to be made at the Peking Triennial Examinations of 1892, and included in this distribution was his book on the *Historical Evidences of Christianity*, or the testimony of history to its value.

During 1892–1893 Dr Allen was away on furlough, as

was also the Rev. Dr Edkins, an able Sinologist and an active contributor to the monthly magazine, so Richard had the additional responsibility of editing the two monthlies, the *International Review* and *The Christian Church Review*. It was at this time also that he began his translation of Mackenzie's *History of the Nineteenth Century*, a book which became widely read and which influenced the minds of many Chinese in favour of reform.

In 1893 a special autumn national examination was held, a year in advance of the usual time, in commemoration of the Empress Dowager's sixtieth birthday. Pastor Kranz gave the generous sum of 1200 dollars for the distribution of Dr Faber's *Civilization* amongst the students, and with other donations the S.D.K. was enabled to distribute 60,000 copies of various publications to the examinees in several of the provincial capitals.

At the suggestion of Mrs Robert Swallow of the English Methodist Mission, Ningpo, Mrs Richard and Mrs Fitch formed a Committee in Shanghai for the purpose of commemorating the Empress Dowager's sixtieth birthday—sixty years is a Chinese cycle. An appeal was issued to the Christian women of China to send small gifts of money for the purpose of presenting her Majesty with a special copy of the New Testament. With the 1200 dollars subscribed a beautiful copy was printed in large type on the best foreign paper. An explanatory introduction was prepared by Dr William Muirhead of the London Missionary Society, and the whole was bound in solid silver covers made in Canton. Mrs Richard prepared the presentation address, which Dr Richard and his able writer, Mr Ts'ai, put into the best style of Chinese. The address was as follows:—

To the Empress Dowager's Most Excellent Majesty.

Madam,—Your Imperial Majesty having, by Divine appointment, undertaken the government of China in times of unparalleled internal and external trouble, and having by your great energy and wisdom restored profound peace throughout the whole Empire and established friendly relations with all nations, has called forth the admiration,

not only of your own subjects, but of those of other nations far and wide.

Among the many just laws which your Majesty has established, not the least is that which commands the same protection to your Christian subjects as to those of all other religions: Therefore we, a few thousand Protestant Christian women throughout the various provinces of your Empire, though mostly poor, cannot let the auspicious occasion of your Imperial Majesty's sixtieth birthday pass without testifying our loyalty and admiration. We do so by presenting your Majesty with the New Testament, which is the principal classic of our holy religion—namely, the religion of Jesus Christ, which is the only religion which practically aims at the salvation of the whole world from sin and suffering. The truths in this volume have brought peace of heart and purity of life, with hope of everlasting happiness, to countless millions. It has also given to Christian nations the just laws and stable government which are at the root of their temporal prosperity and power. On this account we hear it is a custom in the West to present Empresses, Queens and Princesses with a copy of this book on happy occasions in their lives. We Christians in your Empire constantly and fervently pray that your Majesty and all the members of the Imperial Household may also get possession of this secret of true happiness to the individual and prosperity to the nation so that China may not be behind any nation on earth. We also pray that your Imperial Majesty may be long spared to help by your wise counsel in the government of China, and that when your work on this earth is finished you may have a happy entrance into the glorious land prepared for all those who carry out the beneficent will of Heaven. We remain, with the profoundest veneration, Madam, your Majesty's most grateful subjects,

THE WOMEN OF THE PROTESTANT CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN CHINA.

The casket was presented on 11th November 1894, by the British and American ambassadors, through the Tsungli Yamen (Foreign Office), and though a few days late for the

birthday, it arrived most opportunely along with Queen Victoria's gift to her Majesty. One result of this presentation was that the Emperor himself became interested and sent a eunuch to the Bible Society depot in Peking to procure the whole Bible, along with other Christian books, for his Majesty's perusal. In due course the Empress Dowager acknowledged the gift by sending rolls of silk to the ladies who had arranged the presentation.

About the year 1893 depots were established for the sale of literature in Peking, Mukden, Tientsin, Si-an-fu, Nanking and Chefoo. During this period also the circulation of the *International Review* considerably increased.

The significant feature of 1894 was the recognition of the valuable work of the Society by high Chinese officials. Viceroy Chang Chih-tung sent 1000 taels, while Taotai Nieh of Shantung sent a smaller sum, as did also a Chinese Director of the China Merchants' Steamship Co., who later bought 100 copies of Richard's *Nineteenth Century* and sent them to leading officials. Taotai Nieh in 1902 sent another gift of 1000 dollars, and after his appointment to the Governorship of the province of Chekiang he, in 1904, induced officials and gentry to buy S.D.K. books at a cost of 1600 taels a year. His wife was sister of Marquis Tsêng, formerly ambassador to England. One of her sons later became a leading Y.M.C.A. member in Shanghai, and another an active Christian in Chang-sha, while she herself joined the Christian Church in 1914.

In 1894 Mr (later Sir) Thomas Hanbury, who became the principal benefactor of the Society, gave 600 taels for the best essays, from M.A. candidates, showing the advantages of railways, improved currency, a postal system, machinery for tea and silk, the maritime customs, opium suppression, and friendly foreign relations. Later he showed his confidence in the Society by leaving in his will a bequest sufficient to buy the land on which the handsome buildings of the Society were erected, together with 25,000 taels towards the cost of building. It was an act of generosity which greatly cheered and encouraged Richard and his colleagues.

In 1895 Mr and Mrs Archibald Little came to consult

Mr and Mrs Richard concerning the formation of an Anti-Footbinding Society, and naturally found warm supporters. A Society called the T'ien Tsu Hui, or Natural Foot Society, had been already started by Mrs Macgowan of the London Missionary Society, Amoy; but the new departure under the same name owed its real initiation and wonderful success to the energy and devotion of Mrs Archibald Little. Richard consented not only to use his magazines for the advocacy of the movement, but also to help in producing and publishing the literature necessary for arousing public opinion against the evil practice. His first tract, read before publication by his Chinese writer to his wife, led her to declare that the feet of no more of her daughters should be bound. This was a good augury for the success of the movement. Chinese ladies speedily began to take an interest, and some of them wrote excellent poems against the practice. In 1903 Miss King, daughter of one of the wealthiest Chinese families in Shanghai, wrote a pamphlet remarkable for arguments, style and illustrations, and it had a wide circulation through the branch societies.

Mrs Little spent many years travelling through the various provinces, personally induced Viceroys and Governors to issue proclamations against the practice, and finally memorialized the Empress Dowager—the Manchus never bound their feet—who issued an edict exhorting her subjects to abandon the custom. After eleven years of noble effort Mrs Little handed over the remarkable work of the Society to a Committee of Chinese, some of high rank, who undertook to carry on the campaign. She herself had to leave China for England with her husband, whose health was rapidly failing. To Richard and his Society much of the credit is also due for the public opinion thus created, for down to 1906 the S.D.K. acted as agents for the creation and dissemination of the Anti-Footbinding Society's publications.

As an instance of the valuable work done by the S.D.K. for general enlightenment may be mentioned that of the Rev. J. Lambert Rees, B.Sc., of the L.M.S. Richard was always on the look-out for men of ability, and in Rees he found a young scholar of much promise. Having to visit

Peking in September 1895, he placed in Rees' hands for translation Lessing's essay on the *Education of the Human Race*. Richard's able assistant, Mr Ts'ai, acted as Chinese composer. On Richard's return a few months later he found the work admirably done. It was printed and a copy forwarded to Viceroy Chang Chih-tung, who was so pleased with it that he sent another donation of 1000 taels, and asked that a history of the world be brought out. Mr Rees had by this time joined the American Protestant Episcopal Church, but Bishop Graves very kindly allowed him to spend some years chiefly in writing an original work on the *Ancient, Mediæval and Modern History of the World*, a book which the Society published in 1900 in three volumes, each of the size of a volume of *The Encyclopædia Britannica*. It was the most complete universal history the Chinese possessed. Viceroy Chang was so delighted that he sent a gift of 3000 taels. It was work such as this that helped to break down the prejudices of men like Viceroy Chang, and prepared his mind to issue, ten years later, his famous booklet which finally brought about the epoch-making change of the ancient educational system of China. Even before this change was made Literary Chancellors put questions at the Triennial M.A. Examinations which could only be answered by men who had read Rees' book.

When Richard joined the S.D.K. he was the only whole-time member of the staff, and the total value of its property was a mere thousand dollars. To a man of his temperament the clerical and business work must have been a trial, but in time he was relieved by Mr Cardwell, and later secured the valuable services of Miss H. C. Bowser as secretary. When, twenty-five years later, ill-health compelled him to resign the active office he had six Western colleagues, several associate workers, a staff of eighteen Chinese translators and assistants, and the assets of the Society were valued at nearly a quarter of a million dollars. He himself had issued original works or translations numbering over a hundred, and his influence, through literature and personal contact with the most powerful people in the land, had made the name and work of the Society known throughout the Empire.

CHAPTER XVI

CHINO-JAPANESE WAR

WE must now deal with the second stage in the great awakening. Hitherto the impact of the West had little more than annoyed China. It was the clash of two different types of civilization. Occidentals might be permitted to come and copy the superior civilization of the East if they wished, but China had no idea of changing hers. The West—well, after all, it had merely a mechanical and material civilization, without the art, refinement, literature or moral culture of Great China. And perhaps, by repressive effort, the Western barbarian could ultimately be confined to the coast, with at most a few river ports. Thus the continent of China need scarcely know of his presence—except for his opium (which few high officials could do without) and his missionaries; but the latter might be thwarted by judicious official connivance in the persecution of their converts—and had not China a right to make life uneasy for "secondary devils," who "ate the foreigners' rice"?

The scene, however, took on a new aspect when the despised neighbouring "Dwarfs," the Japanese, turned traitor to the East and began to doff their ancient Chinese garb of the T'ang Dynasty in favour of Western motley. It is still difficult for an Orientalized European to comprehend how so artistic a nation could bring itself to cast off its flowing robes and courtesies for the brevities of the West. But "fixed nitrogen" is powerful stuff and blows all sorts of vanities and realities to pieces, and Japan discovered that short jackets and gunpowder were very efficient means of civilization; with these she soon blew the old-style Chinese army into fragments, so that its terror-striking war-whoops, *pas de seul* gyrations, and *opéra bouffe* equipment were about as effective as cardboard fortifications.

Japan wanted Korea; had always wanted Korea; for fifteen

hundred years had at intervals made immense efforts to take Korea. Korea did not wish to be taken, either by China or Japan; but as China let Korea rule herself at the expense of an annual "squeeze," termed "tribute," Korea preferred indifferent China to unscrupulous Japan. There had been recent trouble between China and Japan over Korea, and it had been agreed that neither nation should send more troops there without first informing the other. But the Chinese Government, "as was usual in its dealings with foreign nations, was not straightforward." A great diplomat said to me not long ago that Japanese ministers might be slow in making a promise, but, having made it, the keeping was sure; whereas Chinese ministers would promise never intending to fulfil.

The Chinese chartered a British steamer, the *Kowshing*, filled it with troops and despatched it to Korea, ostensibly to quell local disturbances. The Japanese, who, of course, possessed previous knowledge of the movement, had a gunboat waiting for the *Kowshing*, and fired a shot across its bows calling on it to stop. The European captain gave the necessary orders, but the Chinese soldiers immediately mutinied and took control, on which the Japanese sank the steamer and declared war on China. They marched on Seoul, the Korean capital, brutally murdered the Queen, their ablest enemy, and seized Korea. Directing their forces towards Manchuria, they commenced to march on Peking; whereupon the Empress Dowager, perhaps fearing the fate of the Korean queen, gladly accepted foreign aid. The Russian minister, Count Cassini, in consideration of valuable concessions to Russia—which later led to the Russo-Japanese War—agreed to aid China against Japan, and, with Germany and France as allies, checked the Japanese approach to Peking by putting their fleets ready for action against the Japanese fleet. Terms of peace were made, but China, who could have borne a beating from a Western Power, was bitterly humiliated at being beaten by a nation only a tenth her size, a nation she had always patronized.

It was at this juncture that the S.D.K.'s *Review of the Times* made itself felt. Dr Allen was the right man for the occasion.

His keen analytic mind, his ready wit and forceful expression were matched by his striking appearance. Born to be a statesman, he had devoted his talents to the service of missions. By his faithful marshalling of the facts month by month, and his emphasis on the essential weaknesses of China, he aroused public opinion, especially amongst the official classes, to a realization that China must either advance or be destroyed.

It was soon after the war began that Richard's translation of Mackenzie's *History of the Nineteenth Century* was first issued. In his introduction he asked: "What is the cause of the foreign wars, indemnities and repeated humiliations suffered by China during the last sixty years?" And he pointed out that "God was breaking down the barriers between all nations by railways, steamers and telegraphs, in order that all should live in peace and happiness as brethren of one family; but that the Manchus, by continual obstruction, determined from the first to prevent this intercourse. They were thus not opposing foreigners so much as God in His universal ruling." If this attitude, the cause of her many defeats, were changed, China might still become "one of the greatest nations on earth." He sent copies of the book to certain Viceroys and awaited with anxiety the result of his "daring statement." Viceroy Chang immediately sent for him to Nanking, and Viceroy Li Hung Chang telegraphed for him to go to Tientsin. Having accepted Viceroy's Chang's invitation, he was unable to go north till too late, for Viceroy Li—whose army, on which he had wasted vast sums of money, had been shattered at the first blow—was speedily degraded.

Up to this time the booksellers of China had refused to handle Christian literature, but in 1895, as a result of Richard's *Mackenzie's History* and other S.D.K. issues, a great change came over them. In Hangchow no less than six pirated editions of the *History* were on sale, one of them an édition de luxe for the rich. It is estimated that no less than a million pirated copies were in circulation throughout China. Other S.D.K. books were pirated, as was also Dr Allen's *Review of the Times*. Copies of the *History*, which

sold at two dollars in Shanghai, fetched six dollars in Si-an-fu. The profits of the pirated editions cannot be known, but the sale of the Society's publications now produced an income twice that of all its subscriptions from abroad, thus enabling free grants of literature to be made where needed.

Thus were the first steps taken in breaking down the wall of partition between the Christian writer and the Chinese bookseller.

Richard went to Nanking at the Viceroy's invitation. It was February, the bitterest month on the Yangtze. Here is his graphic description of the conditions he found in the viceregal city, and of the viceregal inn where he spent the first night:

"The day was wet, rain and snow in turns, with strong wind. The roads were covered with deep slush which splashed about with each step; every traveller was doubled up with cold as if with colic. There was no wheel conveyance of any kind, but a chair had to be fetched from Hsia Kwah on the other side of the river, for one was not sent to the landing-place where it was wanted. It would have been too much of a shock to conservatism to have it ready on the spot; it must be left where the ancestors kept it, and the chair must be the very one used by the ancestors, even to the split boards and ragged calico; and the wind must blow through the very crack which vexed the ancestors. After some half-hour's delay in hunting for the chair-bearers, who are in demand by any steamer that comes, we started.

"There are many tumble-down houses on both sides of the streets through which we passed, but what is most striking to the stranger is the mat sheds on each side. They are about four feet high, seven feet long, and four feet wide. They contain neither table, chair nor bed; the cold ground, covered with a little straw, and a mat, serves for bed; the only furniture is a cooking-pot with a fire under it, and some ragged covering which was once a quilt. The old men and women there cannot resist the cold long, and the scanty food of the young lads brings on disease in their starved

frames. Many try to eke out their living by gambling, as they have nothing else to do. Their skins are blue with cold, and broken up with white scales. Their sisters were more fortunate, for they were sold long ago to a life of comparative luxury—shame some will call it—in order to ward off the day of starvation for their families a few months longer. Terrible as the poverty is, yet Nature asserts herself among those who can no more dream of having a wife than of flying. They occasionally divide their meal with a poor starving widow who has a babe in an adjoining shed, and who for it shares a night's hospitality till another babe comes. But it cannot be reared; it is cast in the night into the cold not fifty yards away, and by the morning the hungry dogs do not leave even bones behind, only a blood-stained rag.

"Look at the chair-bearers; they are better off, but they have no shoes or stockings; their legs are bare to the knees. They tie on some straw sandals with straw strings and trudge along most happily, ankle-deep in the freezing slush, because they have something to do. They can earn by the slow process of gradual freezing and grafting disease into their system.

"We arrive at one of the viceregal inns where high mandarins stay. Instead of having a house of three stories one above another, these have their space of ground walled round; fronting the street is a house with a front and a back door, each about eight feet wide; the front door is only shut at night, the back door is open night and day. Behind this there are two houses like it, each separated by an open court of twenty feet. The entrance to the three is through the one front door. The central part of the hotel has its front and back doors open day and night, the back row alone has only one door open; the back door is walled up, as there are no houses behind. Through these doors the cold wind blows night and day. Then, again, the whole of the front of each row is made up of paper window-frames with wide slits between each frame; and the rooms are partitioned off with boards, also with wide fissures between each. As the wind is high it goes through our bedroom like water through a sieve. Then there is no ceiling, and the partition a little

way above one's head connects with the wide passage outside; thus the first-class bedroom is only a roof to prevent the rain and snow falling on one; the winter midnight air has full and free access. This is our first-class hotel.

"In the bedrooms are two wooden frames which they call beds; they are only bare boards without a thread of bedding. There are also two chairs—only one is usable—a table, and a narrow bench about four inches wide to sit on. On the table there is a primitive lamp, probably invented about the time of Abraham. You ask for bedding; they bring a reed mattress and a quilt, damp and greasy, having been used for years without washing. To crown matters, the landlady, with a little girl of six years of age in her arms, comes to the door to give instructions to her husband about the bedding, and the child in her arms has measles. They do not see any impropriety in bringing bedding from a house where there is measles. So there is neither warmth nor health nor sleep for one, while he keeps watch on his narrow bed and sees his breath rise about him like smoke, because the temperature is far below freezing-point.

"And this is the condition of society under one of the greatest Viceroys in the Empire. Who will call a Government, which will tolerate such poverty and wretchedness at its very doors, civilized and fit to be put on a par with Christian nations? Such misery of tens of thousands in these mat sheds should melt hearts of stone to do something to save them."

In all, at this period, Richard had three interviews with Viceroy Chang. The first was on 5th February 1894. Later he was telegraphed for and again made the journey to Nanking, seeing the Viceroy on the 17th; the third time was in March. He found the Viceroy's advisers on foreign affairs were Chinese who had been trained abroad. They were, as so many foreign-trained students still are, very critical, seeing only the failings of Western civilization and unconscious of its splendid values. In none of them did Richard find a sense of statesmanship such as the times demanded. His own proposals, too, were not such as any

proud nation could easily accept. It is probably true that, had they been adopted, China would have been raised to a condition of unparalleled prosperity and world history itself have been entirely different. But to propose that a single foreign Power should be invited for a term of years to settle all China's foreign affairs, to introduce reforms into the country, develop its resources, and then at the expiry of the term hand back everything to China—well, first of all, where was this "honest broker," and, second, what would become of Manchu sovereignty? Richard was theoretically right in his proposal, but he was not dealing with the right kind of angels. At that time Viceroy Chang's pet scheme was to send abroad young princes for education. Richard pleaded that those of maturer age should be sent, as the times could not wait and conditions demanded speedy action. The Viceroy himself was not unfavourably disposed to a foreign alliance such as that suggested by Richard, provided that the term were limited to ten years, but it was more than his position was worth to present such proposals to the Throne.

The first Peace Envoy to Japan after China's crushing defeat was Chang Yin-hwan, formerly minister to the United States. When passing through Shanghai on his way to Japan, he received Richard on 28th February. After pointing out the dangers threatening China from official ignorance and corruption, from the poverty of the people and from foreign aggression, Richard proposed as a remedy that two princes be sent as Peace Plenipotentiaries to settle the peace terms on a financial basis; that an alliance such as he had suggested to Viceroy Chang be sought; that, in the meantime, Sir Robert Hart be made adviser, with direct approach to the Throne; and that China should earnestly support the formation of a Court of International Arbitration. The Envoy expressed his approval of an alliance, saying: "Russia is the Power which all others fear, but England is the most reliable." Richard pointed out that joint alliances would bring defeat, and that the alliance should be with one nation only. The Envoy confided to Richard that official corruption was awful and hopeless, that reform plans were

useless with the Government, that he had proposed to have members of the Imperial family sent abroad but was warned off, that very few of those sent abroad were competent observers, that China had alienated all her friends, that he was ashamed at the way foreign ministers were treated in Peking, and that nothing could be done there without a great and radical change of everything. They discussed together for nearly two hours, but nothing practical resulted. In the end the Envoy's credentials proved unacceptable to Japan, and Viceroy Li Hung Chang took his place with plenary powers to negotiate peace. Soon after his arrival there a fanatic shot him in the face, consequent on which chivalry compelled Japan to grant him more favourable terms than were at first intended.

On returning from the interview with Viceroy Chang in March, Richard travelled with Li Ching-mei, son of Viceroy Li. The son was so pleased with Richard's *History* that he offered to write an Introduction to it. He told Richard that though Viceroy Chang (whose honesty was proverbial) " did not keep any money of the revenue in his own hands . . . he was very tyrannical, robbing the pawn-shops, salt merchants and others of all their savings." He did not dwell on the fact that Viceroy Li was by no means renowned for his poverty, nor did he describe the methods he had employed to escape the lot of the poor. When Viceroy Chang died he left nothing except a huge debt owing to the Central Government, a debt which the Empress Dowager forgave. Viceroy Li died enormously wealthy. Both of them, with patriotic zeal, only equalled by their ignorance, wasted vast sums of public money.

CHAPTER XVII

T'IEN-T'AI

IN 1894 Mrs Richard took home the two younger daughters, as it was necessary that their formative years should be spent in English surroundings, and that they should go to a better school than Shanghai at that time could provide. The father had planned to accompany them, but affairs in China made it desirable that he should remain behind.

Later, feeling the need of a change from his work in Shanghai, he decided to learn something of the condition of Buddhism in the adjoining province of Chekiang. Accordingly, in May 1895, along with the Rev. Ernest Box of the London Mission, he set out on an interesting visit to a famous Buddhist centre, that of T'ien-t'ai, near Ningpo. It is from this centre that there has sprung the most popular and most successful school or sect of Buddhism in China and Japan. Each sect of Buddhism—and there are many—bases its teaching on one or other of the Buddhist Scriptures, and that of T'ien-t'ai is founded on the Lotus Scripture, with Amitabha (O-mi-to Fo) as the principal object of worship, and Paradise, or the Pure Land, as the abode of the soul after death. Its doctrines may be an outgrowth of original Buddhism, but if so most of the fundamental doctrines of the Buddha have been altered. No proof can be given of the external origin of this remarkable sect, or of its indebtedness to Christianity, but its doctrine of " Salvation by Faith " rather than by the " Works " of orthodox Buddhism is strangely like the similar doctrine of Christianity.

Mr Tung, a Manchu Christian from Peking, accompanied them. This man had been baptized in the Roman Church, confirmed in the Greek Church, studied medicine under the Presbyterians, and was then a catechist under

Bishop Scott of the S.P.G. Richard describes him as a very able, open-minded man, who wanted to prove all things and hold fast that which is good. Having been grafted in several places on to the Church's stock, he now felt drawn to go to Rome and invite the Pope to unite all Christian bodies in China. He had left Peking with this object, arrived in Shanghai, and, being short of funds for the journey, had called on his old friend Richard, no doubt in the hope of obtaining "travelling expenses," after the common Chinese fashion in such cases! Knowing the impracticability of his scheme, Richard, with his usual thoughtfulness for a Chinese brother in distress, took him off to this famous Buddhist centre, and meanwhile wrote to Bishop Scott telling him he had his lost sheep and would keep him pending a reply.

On this journey Richard was facing a very different China from that to which he had been accustomed in the north. The Yangtze is for the most part the dividing line between north and south. Richard had chiefly known the north, with its dust, its horses, mules, donkeys and carts. South of the Yangtze these practically disappear; the buffalo, ox, goat, pig and dog are the principal animals, but as these are not used as beasts of burden, over most of the country locomotion is by boat or chair.

The following extracts from his diary will be attractive chiefly to those who are interested in Buddhism or in South China:—

"At a place called Ka-li-zen I was much struck with the superstition of the people. A great many shops were selling clothes and houses for the dead, not only of paper but also of silk. Some even went to the expense of making the houses and clothes just as though they were for the use of the living, though the majority were much the same as our toy things for children. They sold paper money in abundance, and rolls of paper dollars as well as imitation gold ingots.

"On the way through the streets we found two groups engaged in worship. The first was in a shop on the main street. Four Buddhist pictures, about eighteen inches by twelve, and beautifully coloured, were placed in gilt frames so

as to make them more attractive. These faced the street, and before each knelt four semi-religious men, but not clean-shaven like the priests. They wore special religious vestments. One of them beat a little bell, and seemed to keep time for the rest, who were reciting one of the Buddhist Scriptures. The second group was still more impressive in some respects, as the worshippers were more in earnest and were mostly women. They were gathered apparently in a private house; we heard a pleasant sound of chanting, and, turning our eyes in the direction of the sound, we saw a man in an empty room and about twenty middle-aged women grouped in the form of a horseshoe, chanting in unison the Mito Scripture of the Buddhists. Our informant, a native preacher, said they belonged to a religious sect called Wu Wei. In both cases they were saying prayers for the sick; and I was told it was their custom here to do this instead of sending for doctors.

"On the same walk we saw another striking sign of superstition. An old memorial arch, which had been built to commemorate a man of the city who had lived to the age of a hundred, was to be repaired; but for about two hundred yards on each side along the street, in order to avert calamities from evil spirits, straw men from one to five feet in height were placed on the roofs. Some of these had spears, some bows and arrows, and some had rifles in their hands, ready to repel any attack. There were also figures of monkeys and other tailed animals on the roofs. We also saw several Taoist charms with an official stamp hung up over the doors, and the words: 'This is to confer blessings and to avert evil influences.' From the above it is very evident that the unseen is very real to the people here, and that they are very religious; so this region ought to be a splendid field for missionary work.

"Much silk is grown in this district, and we found that a number of words were tabooed lest some harm should happen to the silkworms. Instead of 'death' one must use 'peace'; 'tea' suggests snakes, so the word 'broth' is used instead. 'Oil' must never be mentioned as it conveys the idea of swimming in the water, and this, suggesting

poisonous things, is unpropitious, so one must use the word 'wood' for 'oil.' Doors are closed in the silkworm season, and visiting is not allowed, nor any talk, or the silkworms will get ill and die.

"After five days' travelling in a small boat we reached Hangchow, 110 miles south-west of Shanghai. In 1130 it was the capital of the Sung Dynasty, and then had a population of about 2,000,000. It contains many Buddhist temples. Dr Main, of the Church Missionary Society, said that a large number which had been destroyed by the Tai-ping rebels were now being rebuilt by subscriptions from the officials and gentry. We arrived at the north suburb of Hangchow and went to the place where pilgrims stay at the end of April. It would be very busy then, but was quiet and deserted now.

"The first temple we visited was called Mi-to Sz—*i.e.* Omito temple. Omito is the same word as Amitabha, the Persian name for God. The three divinities in the principal hall were Amitabha, Kwanyin, and Ta Shih Tze. Kwanyin, the Goddess of Mercy, has many of the attributes of the Holy Spirit, while Ta Shih Tze means 'the Mighty Messiah,' and may be compared to 'the Saviour of the World.' Sakyamuni was relegated to a back place, as though second in importance to this Trinity.

"We were surprised to find a Buddhist Tract Society in the city; there we bought several books, and among them a guide to the Buddhist temples. It gave us the number of the monks, which ran into the hundreds at some of the temples.

"One of the temples, Lin-Ying Sz, some three or four miles to the west of the famous West Lake, had a very beautiful approach. There was a grand avenue of trees, and on the left of this was a large limestone rock on which were carved images of Buddha and his followers. Farther on were the four gigantic Heavenly Guardians, about twenty feet high. Beyond that all had been destroyed by the rebels. A priest led us to the western court of the temple, where were images of the five hundred Lohans (disciples), each more than life-size, all being gilded and in different attitudes; the sight was very impressive. Two priests were going

round lighting incense in front of them, till the place was filled with smoke. Among the Lohans was the Emperor Chien-lung, with yellow umbrella over his head; and in another hall was the Emperor Kia-ching.

"The next temple we visited was the Hai-chao Sz, to the east of the city. Here was the chief monastery in Hangchow, and priests on their journeys had a right to stay here free of charge. There were twenty such monasteries in Hangchow alone. The temple generally contained about a hundred priests, but often there were also from one hundred to two hundred passing guests. It had lately been repaired and was in beautiful condition. The divinities in the great hall were: Sakyamuni in the centre, Amitabha on his right, and Yo-shih Fo (the great physician) on his left. These three figures were seated on a platform twenty feet from the ground, and were perhaps thirty feet high. On leaving, my Peking friend, Mr Doong, called my attention to a remarkable tablet high up on the front of the temple; it read: 'The Great, Merciful Father.'

"A few days later we set out for the T'ien-t'ai Mountain, about 160 miles off, having first obtained a printed guide of the way. The first important stage was to Shao-hsien, about thirty-eight miles. This city is remarkable for two things—its lawyers and its wines. Every one of the fifteen hundred magistrates in China is obliged by custom to provide himself with a legal adviser; all these come from the prefecture of Shaohing, where there is a sort of permanent college for training these lawyers. So in one sense one might say that the whole of China is ruled by Shao-hsien men. The other thing for which it is remarkable is its wine. We call it wine, though it is not distilled. Distilled spirits were not known in China till the Mongol Dynasty, 1260–1368. Shao-hsien wine is made from rice, and is widely exported all over China, not in wooden barrels as are the European wines, but in earthenware jars of various sizes. No Chinese banquet is considered complete without a supply of this wine, which is always drunk warm from small cups which hold about a dessertspoonful.

"In the city of Shao-hsien there are memorial arches, erected

in memory of the French officers who died in defending the city against the Tai-ping rebels. The country is very rich, containing many villages and fine farms, indicating great prosperity. The houses are built of massive trimmed stones. The work of the labourers in the rice-fields which abound here is very trying, as they are much of the time in the water.

"For the convenience of travellers there is a fine agency by means of which they are passed on from place to place at a regular fixed rate, whether they travel by boat or are carried in chairs overland. This saves delay in looking for boats or chairs or coolies, and the trouble of bargaining for anything. The traveller buys a ticket for the whole journey, and is handed on at each station without a word of strife or a minute's delay. Each coolie is paid 400 cash per day —about tenpence.

"On the way between Shao-hsien and Ching-hsien we travelled up-stream in a boat rowed by three men. The river is both tidal and subject to floods from the rain which comes down from the mountains. On the Shaohing route the mountains are in the distance, three to six miles away, while the flat country is studded all over with busy towns, and crossed in all directions by canals of clear water. Here we are close to the mountains, with only about a quarter of a mile of cultivated land intervening.

"Late in the afternoon we reached Chang Kia Poo and went ashore. On returning to the boat about twenty young men and boys followed us, some of whom came on board and asked us for medicines, etc. After about ten minutes' friendly talk the boatman cried out that we were going to start; at this they all left, but were no sooner ashore than they began to yell out: 'Foreign devils, foreign devils!' Seeing this deliberate mischief-making, I called to the boatman to stop and jumped ashore. At this they ran away in all directions, thinking that I was going to catch them. But I went direct to the centre of the town, selected the most important shop close to the temple, and told the shopkeepers what had happened, and that I had come to speak to those who were responsible for the peace of the place. In a few minutes the head of the police came and said that those

who had made the row were children. By this time the streets were filled with a crowd of hundreds, and there was no standing room in the shop. To the policeman and all I said that the children were only doing what elderly people allowed them to do; if they had not been in the habit of letting them curse foreigners they would not have done so to-day. I had come to ask them to put a stop to this rudeness. Some suggested that the policeman should seize the children and take them on to Ching-hsien with us. To this I replied that I did not want to make a big affair of it, but that if they did not do something within half-an-hour (and I pulled out my watch to mark the time) I should have to make a big affair of it. Then a man called Yang came forward and asked whether we would be satisfied with firing crackers at the temple there or at our boat, and with their promise to warn the people against repeating the offence. I said I agreed, as I did not want to *make* trouble but to *end* it. Within two minutes big crackers were fired in front of the temple, and the shopkeepers harangued the crowd on proper behaviour. I thanked the peacemakers and suggested that they should come with us to the boat. There were many hundreds of men in the street, and during the five minutes' walk to the boat the shore was lined with people looking on, and about fifty followed us to the boat. I bowed once more to the peacemakers and thanked them, and told them that they had better exhort the people to behave properly lest a more serious thing should happen next time. This they promised to do, and began at once to lecture the crowd who had followed us, as the shopkeepers had done those near the temple. Thus happily ended what might have become a riot.

"The river is very hard to navigate. The current ran strongly against us, and the water was shallow, compelling the men to tow from the bank; but often the boat got aground and they had to wade through the water sometimes to their waists. With four boatmen we made only fifteen miles in nine hours. The next day the work was even harder; the men had to track in the water, in the mud, and far away among rocks. The boat frequently scraped the bottom, and often stopped altogether.

"Rice is very largely cultivated in this part of the country. It is very hard work for the farmer. He ploughs his ground when it is covered with water, with the help of a water-buffalo; he harrows it under water; then he goes to a little bed where he has allowed rice sprouts to grow as high as the palm of one's hand above the water, and as thickly as possible. He plucks up some hundreds of these by the roots and ties them into little bundles as thick as one's arm; these he throws about the harrowed ground, which now looks only like a field of muddy water. Then he tucks up his loose trousers as high as he can, takes one of these bundles in his hand, separates about ten sprouts and plants them in the muddy water in rows about a foot apart, with ten inches between each tuft. In two or three days all these will take root and grow beautifully. The farmer goes in again, and this time kneels in the water, and with his fingers stirs up the mud at the roots; in this way he causes the rice to grow more quickly. Thus one sees what toil it is to the farmer to grow rice.

"Before reaching T'ien-t'ai we pass Ching-hsien and Shin-chang-hsien, at which latter place is the largest image of Buddha to be found in China. The guide to the temples at T'ien-t'ai told us that the Ta Fo Sz image, which was 130 feet high, was not as large as the gigantic image at Shin-chang-hsien. It is cut in the rock in a sitting posture, and a temple above it cut out of the same cliff is covered with innumerable Buddhas and Bodhisatvas; hence it is called the Temple of the Thousand Buddhas. The most noted feature is the gigantic Buddha himself, whose crossed leg alone from knee to foot is thirty feet long. The Daibutsu of Kamakura in Japan would be a dwarf beside this. During conversation with the Abbot at the temple, he said that man's greatest difficulty was to get rid of self; till that was accomplished there was no hope for the world. He also told that the most important book they possessed was the Lotus Scripture.

"At last we reach T'ien-t'ai. On the mountain there are temples and monasteries every three or four miles apart; but I will mention only the most important.

"Ching-Liang temple, according to my aneroid 1580 feet above sea-level, contained about thirty people; half of these were priests, the other half cultivated the temple lands—about fifty acres. Twelve miles farther on we arrived at Ti-Tsang temple, 2750 feet high. Here there is an image of the Bishop of Hades, the Japanese Jiso. After another five miles we reached Wan Nien temple, 2400 feet high. The chief hall has Sakyamuni in the centre, Ananda on the east, and Kasyapa on the west. Behind is an empty room, but upstairs is a solitary image of Vairochana, a most ancient god; above the hair was a red ball, said to represent light emanating from him. There was a third hall with five hundred Lohans in five rows, ascending in galleries one behind the other, and each fifteen inches high. Three sides of the hall were enclosed with glass doors. In a loft above was the library of the Buddhist Scriptures. One cupboard was empty, the other was only partially filled, and the contents sadly torn by rats.

"The bell rang for worship, so we went down to the service. It was divided into five parts. In the first the priests were standing; in the second kneeling; in the third standing, while one priest officiated, offering incense; in the fourth they moved in procession round the hall; and in the fifth they knelt again. The worshippers were twenty-four priests, half of whom were under fifteen years of age. The youngest, an orphan who had been there only two months, seemed the brightest of the lot. They stood in four rows of three facing the east, and in three rows of three facing the west, all about a yard apart. They used five musical instruments—viz. a large bell, a wooden fish, a drum, a triangle, and a small hand-bell. There seemed to be no attempt to sing the same note; each priest had his own, except near the end when they chanted in unison. But *time* was carefully observed. At first the rate was slow, about one syllable a second; then they got faster and faster till they galloped through at the rate of four notes per second. It was very sad to see all this mummery going on without a word of explanation. Some of the priests told me that they could recite some of their commonest Scriptures, but did not

understand them. In this temple was a preaching hall for the teaching of the law. There was preaching on the mountain last year. The custom was to have preaching daily from the fourth to the eighth moon, but this year there was none, most of the professors having gone down to Ningpo, Shaohing, Hangchow, Soochow, or Shanghai to preach by invitation; they return to the mountain in the winter.

" The next day, after spending the night in the temple as usual, we went on another five miles to Shining Light temple (Fang-Kwang Sz). Here we were told the ages of the six chief abbots on the mountain; the oldest is seventy and the youngest is thirty-seven. They said there were seventy-two temples and one hundred and eight hermits' huts, but many of these are now in ruins.

" As our way passed close by one of these we went in to see the hermit. We found a man locked up in his room in a part of the temple farm. There was a round hole in the wall fifteen inches in diameter, through which he received his food. He was from Shanghai, and had made a vow to remain there for four years, three of which had already passed. The priests called out that visitors had come, and he opened the door. On asking him what his object was in making such a vow he said it was to keep his mind from evil thoughts. On our inquiry whether we might photograph him he said he had no objection, so we took a photograph of his face at the hole. He had an earnest face, and his hair had grown to about ten inches in length.

" Hwa Ting Sz is the highest temple on the mountain, being 3400 feet high. Like most of the temples, it is situated in a very lonely spot. There are within a radius of two miles a hundred huts around it. The abbot of Hwa Ting Sz is fifty-five years of age. He is very smart and well informed about everything; only he seems too much of a cynic, having known the true ideal of religion, but also how sadly far it is from being attained. He spoke of priests doing nothing but going through their fixed prayers morning and evening, and then following their own inclinations entirely about study or religion or idling. He said that Buddhist temples were for three purposes: for Tsing (meditation), Kiao (instruction),

and Li (ceremonies). T'ien-t'ai is mainly devoted to instruction; Kwoh Ching monastery, however, is famous for its meditation.

"From this temple we went to the highest peak, called Pa King tai, and found it was just 4000 feet high. We were surrounded with mist and could not take any photographs there.

"On the way down we visited several hermits' huts. The first was fastened and nobody answered to our call. In another we found a man with a shaven head, sitting cross-legged on a chair reading the *Diamond Sutra*. I asked him whether he understood the prophecy of the sixth chapter, where it is said: 'Five hundred years after me there will come the Fountain of all the Buddhas. When that one comes have faith in Him.' He relaxed from his indifference and got us some tea, asking for an explanation of the words. I interpreted it to him as a prophecy of Jesus Christ, who appeared five hundred years after Buddha. The hermit said he had never had the passage interpreted before, although he had been reading it for thirty years. Some fifty yards away was another hut, where lived a man and his wife between sixty and seventy years old. The woman had a very fine face, and was reciting prayers all the time she was at work. They earned their living by picking tea, and were paid eight cash per catty; they sold three catties (4 lb.) for about two shillings. Pointing to a sealed door in which was a round hole about a foot in diameter, we asked whether there was a priest inside. She said there was, but we could not speak to him then as it was his time for prayer and meditation, and then women only spoke in whispers. The abbot told us that over a hundred such persons lived round about there in these huts, and never appeared unless some charitable person made large presents to the monastery; then they would all come to worship and feast at Hwa Ting Sz.

"After dinner we started off and travelled ten miles to Chin-Kwoh temple. Here my name was known, as I had met one of the monks in Shanghai. Dr Franke, a German friend of mine, a good Sanskrit scholar, whom I had met when he was studying Chinese at the German Legation in Peking,

and who was in search of Sanskrit literature, had been at this famous temple making inquiries about the founder of the T'ien-t'ai school of Buddhism. The abbot, Min Hi, was the most famous of all those in the mountain. He had collected 13,000 dollars to rebuild the monastery. Here, in the chief hall, instead of an image of one of the Buddhas, there is a small pagoda. Such a thing being so unusual, I photographed it.

" The next day we descended to the Kwoh-Ching temple, only 810 feet high. The monastery was very fine, like Hai Chao temple in Hangchow. The divinities were Sakyamuni, Yo Shih Fo, and Omito in a sitting posture. The newest part was very bright; there were 500 Lohans below, and a fine Buddhist library in good condition upstairs. Close by on the west side was a compound devoted to the Three Holy Ones; these were Omito, Kwanyin, and Ta Shih Tsz, all standing, and about twenty feet high; over each was an umbrella to denote their royal or imperial rank. We went to the kitchen and saw a large rice-pot seven feet five inches in diameter; it was not in use, but there were some myths in connection with it. We saw also several pots five or six feet in diameter, which were being used to provide food for 160 priests who belong to the place. There was a Meditation Hall. On the west side of the altar, in the centre of the room, was a seat covered with blue calico. All round close to the wall was a wide bench of about two or more feet; on this were forty or fifty cushions, where the priests sit in meditation three times a day. This is said to be peculiar to this temple. In the Divinity Hall, instead of a pulpit was an empty chair, where the abbot sat when preaching. Tsing Ching, the priest who looked after this temple, was one of the finest I ever met; he was a veritable Nathaniel. He was thirty-four years of age, and had travelled all over China, and wished to see India and other parts of the world. Besides the above feature there is another that cannot be forgotten—viz. the court and temple to the True Prince, Original Founder. It is covered within and without with tablets of thanksgiving for answers given to prayers.

" To-day is the birthday of Kwan-ti, the God of War; and

we were fortunate enough to witness a great religious gathering of women. They began to arrive at noon the day before, and by sunset the yards of the various compounds were filled with women from forty to fifty years of age and over. The priest told us some of these had come to 'beg for a dream.' On our way to the city of T'ien-t'ai in the afternoon we met many women all along the way coming towards the temple. Our guide said it was the custom for the women in this region to go to the temple and pray for a dream; if they get one they go to friends (not to priests) to ask for the interpretation. If they learn that some fine things are coming to pass, they go to the temple and burn incense, or read prayers, or present a tablet in thanksgiving.

"After supper we heard a great deal of noise of women talking not far off. We asked the leading priests if we might see what the women were doing; they readily assented, and about eight o'clock led us to the court of the True Prince. Being the twelfth day of the moon, it was bright moonlight, but the priest carried a lamp before us. We found a frame in the middle of the hall in front of the idol with about a dozen small red candles about the thickness of one's finger burning in it. On the floor, filling every available space, were women, lying down in their clothes without any bedding either under or over them. In the east side of the room appeared a group of about half-a-dozen men reading some prayers at a table; the leader seemed to be about sixty years of age. The women were lying not only in the temple, but also in the verandah and courtyard; there was just room for us to pass with care between them into the temple. Two or three priests were passing in and out among them, as though seeing that things were in order, but the majority of the priests were away in other courtyards. After returning to our room we heard the sound of music for about an hour, but by ten o'clock all was still except for an occasional voice or a little laugh.

"About three o'clock in the morning the priests rose and had their prayers, with ringing of bells, beating of drums, etc., in the great hall. Between four and five the women in the hall of the True Prince got up and recited their prayers,

two teachers from the city, fifty or sixty years of age, leading them. Seeing so many women had come and were now leaving rapidly, I wrote a sentence in large Chinese characters on yellow paper—that there was an opportunity for elect ones to know the incomparable and Almighty Saviour—so that the women might have one message to take home with them. I laid this on the table on the verandah, where the teachers came pressing round to look on. The teachers explained in the dialect of the place the meaning of the sentence, so the women took some idea of it home with them.

"Whilst I was doing this a countryman of about thirty years of age began to recite one of the Buddhist prayers, called the 'Heart Prayer.' He did it as fast as his lips could move, every now and then gasping for breath, repeating it as though for dear life; but he knew the prayer so thoroughly that he said it mechanically, and could listen to what I was saying and count his beads at the same time.

"On walking through the temple grounds we found remains of phallic worship over two feet high in one of the corners. We left the temple and turned our faces towards Shanghai, having a very hearty farewell from the priests.

"On the road we met many carriers going from Ta Koo-tow to T'ien-t'ai, a distance of eighty miles. They carried burdens of 200 catties each, taking six days to travel the whole way. They get sixteen cash per catty, which works out at about elevenpence a ton per mile. It was pitiable to see these men carrying such heavy burdens for want of better means of transport. It is extraordinary that there are scarcely any beasts of burden in all this region; during the three weeks we have been away we have seen only three donkeys, and not a single mule. Horses are very rare. There are many cows and water-buffaloes, but they are only used for ploughing.

"On the wall of one of the inns where we spent a night was the following remarkable prescription which seems to sum up the teaching of the T'ien-t'ai Mountain temples:—

A Fine Tonic Prescription for Mankind, called the Tincture of Purity

Yin Yang	The whole
Favours	Enough
Careful speech	To flavour
Straightforwardness	Three grains
Duty	According to occasion
Love and righteousness	Practise extensively
Honesty	One piece
Goodness of heart	A slice
Carefulness	A bit
Gambling	Wash entirely away
Faith	Be careful of
Peace-making	A lump
Joy	A large quantity
Bowels of mercy	The whole length
Patience	10,000 parts
Worship of heaven and earth A pure heart Days and months	As much as is needed.

" In all twenty kinds. Let them be made into pills called seeds of wisdom. Take 108 for a dose. Use it for the benefit of three others. Let this tincture for calming the heart be taken warm.

" Incompatibles: the knife of sarcasm, the secret arrow, impure speech.

" This prescription is circulated from the Palace of Reform on the spiritual mountain; a speciality for healing all men and women of all diseases, such as unfaithfulness, unfilialness, want of love, want of justice, and such-like. Whoever takes the medicine according to prescription never fails of cure.

"As for the inn, we were shown, on arriving, to a room below the level of the road, but afterwards we were taken upstairs, and on opening the door we found a room level with the road at the back. On the floor, for sleeping accommodation, were strips of straw, about 2½ inches thick, sewn together to form a mattress. This was rolled up at each end so that either end would do for a pillow; and if the

accommodation was not sufficient two men might sleep on the same mattress, heads and tails. These mattresses were laid all round the room, leaving only walking room in the centre. *There were sixteen of us sleeping in that room.* In case of further need there were a few boards on the beams over one part of the room, where half-a-dozen more might sleep.

"Such were the main features of a most interesting trip. We were away a month, returning to Shanghai on June 11th."

Extract from a letter to his wife from Hangchow, 22nd May 1895

"It has been a most delightful trip. The weather perfect, the country in this latter part just like a fairyland, wide canals four or five times the width of the canals between Tientsin and Peking, and islands covered with vegetation every li or so. Instead of the bare country of the north we have these islands covered with lovely vegetation of all varieties. In the centre there may be a high sycamore-tree or ash, then all round it a perfect orchard of plum-trees. Outside that circle again a ring of Pipo-trees with the yellow fruit ripe on the branches, while on the edge of the water the banks are covered with mulberry-trees for the silkworms which are being fed just now. At a distance of ten or twenty li and more we see hills of 500 or 1000 feet in height.

"In one of the stations there were four preachers to meet us, and we went along the street two and two to see what it was like. In many shops they were selling nothing but paper silver shoes, and gold shoes, and also paper dollars done up in rolls of one hundred each roll, together with paper houses, paper horses, paper men and women. Not only were they made of paper but also of cotton and silk for no other purpose than to burn them at funerals. It was sad to see so many of the shops given over to nothing but meeting the superstition of the people.

"At another place, Peng Hu, which you have often heard Mr Box speak of, we had a good time with half-a-dozen native helpers and Christians. I spoke at all the services and most of the time! These native helpers under-

stood 90 or 95 per cent. of all I said. They seemed to be very grateful for the stimulus they got and Mr Box also was very glad I had come to help them. One evening the oldest official called upon us in state. Next day we returned his call going in chairs. This was Mr Box's first ride in a sedan-chair. The conversation greatly pleased Mr Box's chief helper, who is a very intelligent man and who came along with us. I pray God that the seed sown will be reaped in an abundant harvest some day."

CHAPTER XVIII

ENLIGHTENING THE GOVERNMENT ON MISSIONS

AS a result of his paper at the Missionary Conference of 1890 it was there resolved that a Memorial to the Throne be presented calling attention to the official circulation of calumnies against Christianity. Bishop Moule and Drs Allen, Ashmore, Blodget, John, Wherry and Richard were appointed to draw up and arrange for the presentation of the Memorial. For some reason there was prolonged delay, and it was not till 1895 that an opportunity occurred. Richard had foretold an outbreak of persecution. In 1892 anti-missionary riots broke out in the Yangtze Valley, and Viceroy Chang took but grudging steps for their prevention. In 1893 two Swedish missionaries were attacked, and when fleeing over the house-tops were caught and brutally murdered. The Wu-ch'ang Viceroy, with entire absence of sympathy, merely said: "We do not want these missionaries. We oppose them, we raise riots against them, we destroy their churches, we kill their converts, we murder the foreigners themselves. Yet the astonishing thing is that the more we kill them the more anxious they are to come."

In September 1893 Richard made a special journey to Hankow to consult Dr Griffith John and David Hill about the Memorial. Riots were breaking out or were threatening all over the country. These found their culmination in 1895, when eleven missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, mostly women, were massacred in the province of Fukien.

Stirred to action by this outrage, the Memorial Committee deputed Richard to go to Peking and there to take such action as might be possible, in consultation with Drs Wherry and Blodget, who lived in the metropolis. Meanwhile he drew up a shorter, more practical Memorial than the original one, and this was signed by twenty leading missionaries,

including several bishops. On reaching Peking in September 1895 he found that Dr Blodget, who was absent on furlough, had drafted a statement of Christianity for presentation to the Throne. Wherry and Richard decided to present the shortened Memorial, with Blodget's apologia to accompany it in book form. It took some time carefully to revise these documents and write them by hand.

Meanwhile the approach to the Tsungli Yamen (Foreign Office) had to be wisely arranged. Richard accordingly called on Mr Pethick, an American, the foreign adviser to ex-Viceroy Li. The ex-Viceroy, though "in disgrace," was still influential, and Richard's object was to seek from him an introduction to Prince Kung, President of the Yamen. Mr Pethick insisted on his seeing the Viceroy in person, knowing that the latter was desirous of meeting him again. He received Richard most graciously, insisted on his staying to dinner, and said some very kind words about him. The great Viceroy unburdened himself to his guest, as may be seen from the latter's notes of the conversation. He said:

"1. That the Emperor had no mind of his own, but depended on every last adviser.

"2. That great mandarins in power knew nothing about foreign matters, few of them reading such a book as my translation of Mackenzie's *Nineteenth Century*, which he had personally read repeatedly, but leaving it to their secretaries to read.

"3. That all had turned against him, even Chang Chih-tung advocating fighting to the last.

"4. That the high ministers in Peking spoke of Western education as *Kwei-tze hsuoh* (devil's learning) and spent all their time on Chinese learning alone.

"5. That the essays which occupied the minds of the examination candidates were of no practical use.

"6. That the Government would not grant posts to those qualified in Western learning.

"7. That the *Shih Wen Pao* (a paper published in Shanghai and thought to be partly financed by Chang Chih-tung) was disgraceful.

" 8. That the number of those who could read high-class Chinese style was very small."

After this interview Richard again saw Mr Pethick, who told him that Weng T'ung Ho, the Prime Minister, was practically the Emperor of China; that the Government needed to understand the sanctity of treaties and that their breach meant war; that the Government had reprinted articles from the S.D.K. magazine in the *Peking Gazette* office (a remarkable token of appreciation); and that the new heads of the Tsungli Yamen had been complaining to the Governments in the West of the pressure of the foreign ministers in Peking with regard to the recent riots. He advised Richard to obtain an introduction to Prince Kung from the Prime Minister, Weng T'ung Ho.

Richard again called on Viceroy Li on the 23rd September, and questioned him as to the possibility of inducing the Government to send abroad a hundred Hanlins (" Academicians ") and ten members of the Imperial Clan; of educating Siu-ts'ais (B.A.'s) in modern knowledge for the higher (M.A.) examination; and of arranging lectures in Peking on world topics. He pointed out also that whereas the anti-foreign party, by their blundering, were presenting Japan with 200,000,000 taels of indemnity, it would be easy to show the Government a way to obtain double that sum annually from the development of China's own resources. After an hour's talk the old Viceroy represented to him the powerful conservative forces of which any progressive official had to beware. He told him of the anti-foreign spirit of most of those in the highest places—*e.g.* that Hu Tung, the head of the Cabinet, meeting him returning from calling on the foreign ministers, memorialized the Throne against him for having treasonable intercourse with foreigners; that the head of the Hanlin College (the " Academy " of China) forbade the Hanlins to study foreign books, and was always cursing foreign learning and religion; that Hanlins and reformers were helpless as long as power remained in the hands of these anti-foreign old men; and that the Manchus were of no account. He advised Richard to send his books

A Funeral Cortège in Peking

Note the wide street. The catafalque is carried by several tens of bearers, the chief mourners preceding it in white under a canopy.

to Prince Kung, and also instructed him how to couch his letter to the Prime Minister, Wêng, whom he described as very suspicious, with no head and a half-doubting heart. A few days later Richard took to the ex-Viceroy the draft of his letter to the Prime Minister, which he kindly corrected, and at the same time advised that at the interview Richard should first praise him, then "run a thousand needles into him," and finish by emphasizing the great responsibility resting on him for good or evil. He spent half-an-hour in offering the freest and most forcible illustrations to drive home the urgency of the situation. The Viceroy also remarked that Prince Kung was as hard as stone, while the Prime Minister was as pliable as rubber.

It was not till the middle of October that he obtained an appointment with the Prime Minister, Wêng T'ung Ho. On leaving Shanghai he had written to his wife:

"I feel nervous about going to Peking on such a mighty errand, to try and help to change the mind of a fourth of the human race from a course set for millenniums to a better one in regard to the world at large."

Again he wrote:

"Now that the time has come I feel almost overpowered with my own weakness. Oh! that I had the wisdom of a Joseph, or a Daniel, to help these people to go in the way that God would have them go!"

Like other men, he felt the strain of these responsibilities, which were at times almost too much for him. When suffering from neuralgia afterwards he wrote to his wife:

"At the most exciting times I could only sleep in a very fragmentary way, getting up (as you know) ever so many times to write down some fresh ideas. Often too, in the early morning, before getting up, I would get fresh thoughts that would fully occupy me during the day. They were like clear orders and it was a delight to obey them."

Here are a few of the thoughts he penned during this anxious period:

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"The result of this advance in the Christian religion [*i.e.* religious liberty in Europe] has been to give liberty to men to progress on all lines, and they have progressed in the last 300 years more than the world had progressed in the 3000 years previously."

"This we say to all the followers of all the non-Christian religions; we bid them not to take alarm because we bring them new religious ideas which may supplant those they now hold; for we say that it will not rob them of a single good which they have without supplying them with something better."

"Nor is this true only when we compare our present attainments with those of the past, or with contemporary religions in the present; it is equally true when we compare our present attainments with what we believe to be before us in the future. All scientific men are agreed in saying that what we already know is a mere nothing compared with the infinity that is still unknown. The same is true of our growth in the Christian faith. The best of us now know only in part; to have perfect knowledge we must grow; no growth is stagnation and death. Those who oppose change in religion are to-day in danger of retarding progress, as Roman Catholicism and Islam do in all countries under their sway. They bring on inevitable national death. All true life . . . means change and growth. Hence the prosperity of all Protestant countries, notwithstanding much foolishness. If we wish to attain to the perfection of the knowledge of the Kingdom of God, we must encourage change and growth in every form of knowledge. In religion, we must not be behind, but before every kingdom of this world. If we do not embrace all branches of knowledge, ours is not worthy to be the one religion of the future of the whole world, nor worthy of Jesus Christ, the express image of the Father, who is the fountain of every good."

The long looked-for interview with the Prime Minister took place on 26th October. As formal interviews in those days were usually conducted in the presence of a swarm of listening underlings, the Prime Minister presently took Richard into

a private room with his right-hand man, Wang Ming Luan, as sole companion. There Richard laid before the Prime Minister his proofs that the cruel persecution of missionaries and Christians was clearly countenanced by the Government. He had taken with him two bundles of books containing the most preposterous calumnies against Christians.

" The first book, by Wei, stated that Christians scooped out the eyes of the Chinese and mixed them with lead to produce silver. The other book stated that missionaries made bewitching medicine which demented women, and produced photographs that stole away the souls of those photographed. I pointed out to the Prime Minister that these calumnies were invented to create anti-Christian riots. He asked me who were the miscreants responsible, and I replied that they were Chinese officials. He remarked that could not possibly be true. In reply, I took up one of the bundles, opened it at the place where the false charges were made, and then showed the Preface to the first volume by Tso Tsung-t'ang, the great Viceroy who had won back Ili from the Russians, and said: ' You must own that this man was an eminent official.' Then I took up the other bundle, folded the page containing the false accusations, and turning to the first volume, showed that it was inscribed with the name of Wang Wên-shao, Viceroy of Yunnan and Kweichow. ' You will own that this man was also a high Chinese official,' and I added: ' You must be well aware that these books have lately been republished, like the Blue Books of China (King Shih Wên) in a cheap form for wide distribution throughout the Empire. When the common people read these calumnies, published in a popular form, with the names and sanction of the highest officials in the land, we cannot wonder that they are incited to stir up riots and massacre the Christians.'

" Seeing I had proved my point up to the hilt, the Prime Minister cried, laughing, ' You have lived too long in China,' and gave up questioning my statements.

" After this, I pointed out how China had been troubled with religious difficulties for a thousand years before; first

the Buddhists had persecuted the Taoists, next the Taoists persecuted both, and the country had no peace. But as soon as religious liberty had been granted to all parties quiet reigned throughout the land. 'What the Christians ask from the Government now is only to be let alone,' was my final word. 'If that is all,' cried the Prime Minister, astonished at the simplicity of the request, 'I can easily promise it.' At the close he asked me to prepare a statement of what I considered were the needful reforms for China at that juncture.

"During the conversation, at the close of my account of the results of religious toleration in Europe, India, Japan, and even in China in regard to other religions, he said: 'We shall have to adopt the same principle and let Christianity alone.'"

The Prime Minister told Richard that he was just and fair, and that he had previously heard of him as such.

Viceroy Li had advised Richard to send his book to Prince Kung, and had revised the draft letter requesting an interview. He did not give him a letter of "introduction," as he said the Prince already knew of him and had read his book.

"Prince Kung was the brother of the late Emperor Hsien Feng, and was the Manchu Plenipotentiary who had saved the situation in 1860–1861. He was the most imperious man I ever met, every inch a prince, with a demeanour as if he felt himself a god among men. It was said that he was the only man in the Empire of whom the Empress Dowager was afraid. They had stormy times, and she often found it expedient to bend her will to his.

"On October 30th, the day appointed for the interview at the Tsungli Yamen, as Prince Kung was present the other seven members had also to attend. The Prince showed his contempt by giving me a seat next the door. He opened the interview by referring to the Christians as if they were the refuse of China, speaking in the same disdainful way as they were referred to in the famous Tsungli Yamen despatches after the Tientsin massacre in 1870. He took for granted that all the troubles that had overtaken the Christians had

been brought on them by their own disloyal and foolish actions. When he had given vent to his feelings and expressed his own views, I asked if I might give expression to the Christians' views. He replied that he was willing to hear me.

"I then stated that the charges he had quoted against the Christians were not true, and that the Government's action, based on these charges, was not just. Having lived many years in different provinces in China and seen the great amount of good done by Christians, I knew the real facts, while he, living in Peking, had to trust to hearsay and had been misinformed. I was persuaded that if the Prince knew the whole truth about Christians, his sense of justice would soon put an end to their sufferings. I had come that day, not in my private capacity, nor as an ambassador representing one country, but as representing the Christians of all the Protestant countries of the world, to ask him to appoint a Commission of Inquiry into all the alleged charges against the Christians. If we were guilty of crimes, we did not wish to avoid just punishment, but if we were innocent, I felt convinced that the Prince would see that justice was done to us, and the same liberty granted to Christianity as to other religions in China.

"As soon as he had gone, Li Hung-tsao, one of the Emperor's tutors and a member of the Tsungli Yamen, came across the room and thanked me for speaking so frankly to the Prince. 'None of us would have dared to contradict the Prince as you did, but as you had a request to make, and put it in so respectful a manner before him, he could not possibly be offended. Your visit here will do good.' He also thanked me for my translation of Mackenzie's *Nineteenth Century*, which I had previously presented to him.

"Before leaving Prince Kung it may interest my readers if I relate a further incident. A few years later, the Judge of the British Supreme Court in Shanghai told me that the Russian minister in Peking, in an interview with Prince Kung, had asked if he had read my translation of Mackenzie's *Nineteenth Century*. The Prince replied that he had.

"'And what do you think of it?'

"'It is a very useful book to China.'

" 'Then I am afraid you have not grasped the moral of it,' replied the Russian minister. 'It teaches democracy versus autocracy. If those views become current throughout China you 6,000,000 Manchus will be outvoted by the 400,000,000 of Chinese, and you will have to go.' "

This prophecy of Count Cassini was fulfilled in 1911.

Viceroy Li had graciously given introductions for the deputation—Richard and Wherry—to members of the Foreign Office. The British, American and German ministers were also approached and the Missionary Memorial explained to them. The German minister declined to co-operate, but the British and American ministers sent despatches to the Yamen, and the American minister, Colonel Denby, accompanied and introduced the deputation.

The substance of the Memorial was as follows:—

" Although the Chinese Government had allowed freedom to the Confucian, Buddhist, Taoist and Mohammedan religions for a thousand years, it had, since the days of Emperor Yung Ching (1723–1736) continually persecuted the Christians, even after treaties, from 1842 onwards, had been made, in which protection of Christians was promised. The Government had republished official reports in which the Christians were accused of all manner of horrible practices. The officials and scholars, finding that these books were published with the consent of the highest Viceroys in the land, naturally believed them to be true, and encouraged the common people in persecutions and riots, which resulted in the burning of chapels, killing of native Christians, and even of foreign missionaries. The Chinese did not know that wicked persons were not allowed to enter the Church. Christianity benefited all nations. Not only was Western civilization indebted to the Christian Church, but the inhabitants of all continents and islands of the sea had been uplifted by it. The adoption of Western civilization in Japan was largely due to missionary influence.

" Even in China missionaries had worked for the good of the people. They had translated the sacred books of the West, together with histories and books of science, into

Chinese, and had translated the Sacred Books and histories of China into Western languages. They had assisted in famine relief in Shantung, Shansi, Kiangsu and Manchuria. Though many had died from famine fever, others had come to carry on the good work. They had given advice how China could be saved from poverty, weakness, famine, and war, and become one of the great nations of the earth. What missionaries desired was that the Chinese Government should learn from God and should show benevolence to all. If the Government did not protect good men who had come to help China, then it was to be feared that their own nationals would enter to protect them. Unless Christians were let alone to carry on their good works, international troubles would arise. We therefore pray that an edict be issued granting these three requests.

"A few days after, the Throne instructed the Foreign Office to confer with the missionaries till the matter was settled, and at the beginning of December two of the Tsungli Yamen members assured us that an edict would shortly be issued, granting the requests in the Memorial. But two things occurred which changed the course of events. Wang Ming-luan, who had been one of our strongest supporters in the Tsungli Yamen, was suddenly degraded, thus weakening the pro-Memorial party. Li Hung Chang also told me that the French minister had unexpectedly objected to the Throne granting any missionary request, as it brought up again the question of the right of missionaries to deal direct with the Chinese Government, a demand which the French Government had a few years before compelled the Pope to withdraw.

"At this point Dr Wherry left Peking to go to America on furlough, and his place was taken by Dr Lowry. He therefore called with me at the British and American Legations to report on our interviews with the Tsungli Yamen, and what we had heard of the French minister. We expressed the hope that the ministers would together obtain the consent of the Chinese Government to the Memorial, and we further asked them to add another request, that whatever privileges were granted to the Roman Catholics should be at the same time extended to the Protestants.

"Although we were not able to get the requests granted

and ratified by an edict, yet in our nine interviews with the Tsungli Yamen we were able to enlighten the members, whose ideas had been vague in the extreme, as to the object and value of foreign missions.

"Further, the day before I left Peking, February 24, 1896, Wêng T'ung-ho called on me and gave promises that the slanderous literature should be suppressed, and the local authorities everywhere be instructed to be friendly towards the missionaries."

That the iniquitous charges made against foreigners at the instigation of the Government were generally believed may be seen from the following interesting incident told by Mr Clennell of H.M. Consular Service.[1] It relates to his Chinese writer:—

"In 1891 he was very young, and had more than half believed, as did his relatives and companions, the inflammatory tales then current about foreign missionaries mutilating Chinese children, and drugging, poisoning and outraging people, covering every enormity with a hypocritical mask of pretended zeal for charity and good works, etc., etc., which, circulated in millions by means of posters, picture books, verses and tracts, frequently through the agency of pawnshops owned and managed by a syndicate of agitators from the anti-foreign province of Hunan, were setting the whole of Central China in a blaze of indignant excitement. Where there was so much smoke people felt confident that these tales, however embellished by exaggeration, had some basis in fact; and my clerk had thought so too, and been indignant accordingly. Yet that agitation led him to look into the question, to procure and read the foreigners' books, particularly the New Testament, with the result that, while he told me that, being unable to accept the missionaries' doctrine on such points as the Divinity of Jesus, he could not join their Church as a member, yet he felt sure that Christianity was the live force in China in our days, in that it taught that God lives in man, that we are the temples of a living God."

[1] *The Historical Development of Religion in China.* Clennell.

CHAPTER XIX

THE REFORM SOCIETY

WE now reach the period when at first it seemed as if the real awakening of China had come, and that the giant would quietly arise from his slumber to take up, for the first time in history, a proper relationship with others and range himself with them on the path of progress. In the past China has had originating genius and commendable power of expression. It has contributed largely to the progress and welfare of humanity. While it never had enough moral energy to carry its water of life to others, it was generally willing, until Europeans began to knock over-rudely on its gate, to allow others to come and dip in its well. Present appearances notwithstanding, there need be no doubt that there are men in China to-day possessed of ability to revive the national genius, and therewith to contribute not only to the national, but to international welfare. Richard, like Confucius and Laocius, believed in human nature, consequently he believed in the Chinese. He was of opinion that faith in, and work for, them would result in welfare to them and to mankind. It indeed seemed as if the great response to his faith and that of others of like mind—as well as to the intolerable insult of the Japanese invasion—would be the instantaneous conversion of China to a modern policy.

At that time there was a noted Cantonese scholar, looked upon by many as the modern sage of China, named K'ang Yu-wei, a Chin-shih, or Doctor of Literature. He had written a new commentary on certain of the classics combating, on the ground of their materialism, the interpretations of Chu Hsi, whose works had been the national standard for nearly a thousand years. The Government was persuaded by the orthodox to pursue the universal methods of "orthodoxy" by condemning K'ang's interpretations

as heterodox, and ordering the destruction of his books and their "blocks." Until recently K'ang had been as anti-foreign as the rest of his class, but, as he later told Richard,

"coming down to Hong-Kong (from Canton) a few years ago on his way to Peking for his degree, he was much struck with the houses, streets and general order of the place, and soon became convinced that the so-called barbarians were not barbarians after all, but highly civilized and gentle folk, with whom it was a pleasure to have intercourse. Coming on to Shanghai he was confirmed more and more that there was a civilization outside of China higher than their own. When he got to Peking and saw the state of the capital, he became disgusted; for, instead of finding the Celestial Capital ahead of these ports, it was far behind them; and then he commenced to study Western literature."

K'ang refused to be daunted at the attacks made on him by the Conservative scholars, and carried the war into the enemy's camp. He read all the modern literature he could obtain, and then drew up a Memorial on the lines suggested by the S.D.K. publications, praying the Emperor to take immediate steps for reform. This Memorial was speedily signed by 10,000 scholars, amongst whom were 1300 M.A.'s. A Junior Reform Society was formed in Shanghai by a number of able young men, and branches established in Hangchow, Nanking, Wu-chang and Tientsin. They brought their rules to Richard to revise, and discussed with him the methods they should adopt to enlighten the country.

It was on 17th October 1895, while Richard was in Peking, that he first met K'ang. Richard was writing to his wife, who was in Paris, when K'ang's card was brought in, and he promptly went to receive the famous scholar, who came clad in yellow silks. He was leaving next day for the south and had brought a copy of his books as a present. "He told me," says Richard, "he believed in the Fatherhood of God and in the brotherhood of all nations, as we had taught in our publications, and he hoped to co-operate with us in the work of regenerating China." Soon after this inter-

view Richard was asked to read K'ang's Memorial to the Throne, concerning which he wrote to his wife:

"There I was astounded to find almost all the various suggestions I have made boiled down and condensed into a marvellously small compass. No wonder he came to call upon me when we had so much in common. However, that Memorial lacks one thing and that is *Catholicity*. It is national and local, not international and universal."

The Reform Society grew rapidly amongst the younger men. It had also a considerable following amongst the Hanlin (Academicians), and even had members among the censors and under-secretaries of the Grand Council. For 700 years the *Peking Gazette*, containing chiefly official memorials and records of decrees and appointments, had been the sole publication in the capital. Now, for the first time in history, a new publication was issued, independent of the Government, though having its secret support. It was issued by the Reform party, who adopted for its name *Wan Kuo Kung Pao*, exactly the same title as that of the S.D.K.'s *Review of the Times*. At first it consisted mainly of reprints from that magazine. The S.D.K. publication was printed from metallic type; that of the Reform party was printed from the wooden type used in the publication of the Government *Peking Gazette*, so that in outward appearance the new paper resembled the Government official organ, whilst in contents it was introducing Western ideas as propagated by the S.D.K.

Hearing that Richard wanted a temporary secretary during his stay in Peking, K'ang Yu-wei's most brilliant disciple, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, came and offered his services, which were gladly accepted. Liang became one of the ablest and most voluminous of Chinese modern writers. Other members of the Reform club were Wên T'ing-shih from Kiangsi province, a Hanlin and tutor to the ladies of the Imperial Court; T'an Tze-tung of Hunan, son of the Governor of Hupeh, afterwards beheaded at the *coup d'état* in 1898; Ch'in Chih of Kiangsi, who wrote out Richard's scheme of reform for the Prime Minister, Wêng

T'ung-ho; and Yuan Shih-k'ai, then a general of the Chihli army, later Viceroy and finally President and Dictator of the Republic. Both the Prime Minister and Sun Chia-nai, the Emperor's " tutor," fully sympathized with the Reform party. It also had great encouragement from Sir Nicholas O'Connor, the British minister.

While in Peking—where the Reformers urged him to stay—Richard, along with Dr Gilbert Reid and Mr Pethick, frequently dined with the Reformers, and discussed ideas and methods of procedure. But the opposition was not disposed to let Reform go unchallenged, and on 22nd January 1896 the Reform Society was denounced by " a new-comer, father-in-law of Lord Li's son "; the club was officially closed and its doors pasted up. Viceroy Li denied any connection with this act. The members memorialized the Throne, and during the following month Richard was told that the Tsungli Yamen were about to make the club a grant of 12,000 taels a year.

Asked by the Prime Minister to put in writing a brief scheme for Reform, Richard presented one of which the following is the gist:—

" After prefacing that God showed no partiality towards any nation, East or West, that the nation that obeyed Heaven prospered and the nation that disobeyed perished, according to unalterable law, I pointed out four vital requirements for China: educational reform, economic reform, internal and international peace, and spiritual regeneration. To carry out these great measures I proposed:

" 1. Two foreign advisers to the Throne.

" 2. A Cabinet of eight ministers, one half of Manchus and Chinese, and the other half of foreign officials who would know about the progress of all the world.

" 3. The immediate reform of currency and the establishment of finance on a sound basis.

" 4. The immediate building of railways and the opening of mines and factories.

" 5. The establishment of a Board of Education to introduce modern schools and colleges throughout the Empire.

"6. The establishment of an intelligent Press with experienced foreign journalists to assist Chinese editors for the enlightenment of the people.

"7. The building up of an adequate army and navy for the country's defence.

"This scheme of reform was shown by Wêng T'ung-ho to the Emperor and approved by him. It was published later by the S.D.K."

In a private letter I find that the four foreign advisers he suggested for the Board of Reform were: Sir Robert Hart and Mr (Sir) Charles Addis, British; and the Hon. Mr Foster and Commissioner Drew, American. This Board was to have other departmental Boards under it, and so on. The Prime Minister thought one able foreigner would be sufficient and invited Richard to fill that post; who at once asked, seeing it would take the energies of four men, how could one man do the work? In the same letter he states that he had deliberately put out of his mind any idea of entering the service of the Chinese Government, for "if I did I would be too busy to prosecute missionary work for which I came to China."

On 12th October he had an interview with Sun Chia-nai, the Emperor's "tutor" and personal adviser. Viceroy Li had advised that he should speak to the tutor "as if to the Emperor." Over sixty years of age, he proved to be one of the most cultured and most gentle of Chinese officials. He and the Emperor had daily been reading together Richard's *History* for two months. It must be borne in mind that at this time the Empress Dowager had withdrawn from the Government to the Summer Palace. As already stated, this old, beautiful palace, with its wonderful collection of works of Chinese art, was given to the flames by the British in 1860, by way of punishing the Manchus for their horrible treatment of British and other envoys. It had recently been rebuilt with funds originally allocated to the strengthening of the navy. The diversion of these funds and the consequent neglect of the navy did much to bring about the easy defeat of the Chinese at the hands of the Japanese in 1894.

Before leaving Peking Richard was invited by Sun Chia-nai to become President of the embryo Peking University in place of Dr Martin, who had resigned. He declined, but the invitation was repeated in Shanghai. Richard again declined the honour, but recommended for the post our mutual friend, Dr John Fryer, one of the ablest men who has lived in China. A third invitation reached him while on his way to England; but he felt that he could do better work for China in an independent position rather than as a servant of the Government.

On 3rd December he interviewed Chang Yin-hwan, formerly minister to America, at his house in Peking. Plans for rebellion had been found in the possession of a man named Sun in a Christian chapel at Canton. Chang said this would prove a great hindrance to the settlement of the missionary question about which Richard had come to Peking. Richard replied that this isolated instance had no more to do with the case than the many rebellions of Confucianists throughout the ages, or of the Kuo Lao Hui at that time causing official anxiety. Chang laughed, and went on to say that Prince Kung was in bad health and the Prime Minister ignorant of foreign affairs; moreover, the censors were so influential and so ready to criticize that the Prime Minister was afraid of them; therefore authority was at a discount. He said also that only Viceroy Li Hung Chang and himself knew anything of foreign affairs, and that in the Foreign Office everything devolved on him, the rest of the officials being mere dummies.

On 2nd February 1896 Richard interviewed the Grand Councillor Kang Yi at his house. He was a Manchu who afterwards became one of the chief reactionaries and main causes of the Boxer troubles in Peking. When Richard saw him he was sixty-two years of age. Richard had already known him as Governor of Shansi in the eighties. While there he was a thorough-paced obstructionist, vetoing every suggested improvement, even refusing to grant lead bullets for his army's rifle practice, ordering clay bullets to be used instead to save expense. It is not difficult to imagine that Richard's love of peace may, at that time, have commended

this frugality! Kang Yi, while in Shansi, came under the influence of a local astrologer, with whom he used to sit up at nights studying the stars to read in them the laws, not of astronomy, but of astrology, and their influence on personal and national destiny.

At this interview Richard found him extremely friendly, in contradistinction to the hauteur of Prince Kung and the incivility of Ching Hsin. Kang Yi's expatiations made it clear how wide was the gulf between Manchu and Chinese, and how deep the jealousy that filled it. The obstructionists, he said, were not the Manchus but the Chinese, who were incorrigibly anti-foreign. Richard vainly tried to impress upon him the danger of not studying the methods of other nations, and, among other things, suggested that Kang Yi should persuade the Empress Dowager to invite two foreign ladies as her palace tutors, and that two foreign tutors be provided for his Majesty. Next day Richard sent his secretary to ask Kang Yi whether it would be possible to have an interview with the Emperor. After an hour's talk he sent back word that he had no influence with the Emperor, with whom the Prime Minister was all-powerful; that in the Cabinet the Chinese carried everything their own way, even Prince Kung and Prince Li being ciphers. He declared that the prime Minister kept the Emperor in the dark and "blinded his eyes."

On 24th February, the day before Richard left Peking, the card of the Prime Minister was brought to his room at the London Mission. Thinking this was a gracious, though formal, courtesy to speed the parting guest, Richard was returning his own card when he was told the Prime Minister himself was outside wanting to see him. Such an honour was unprecedented; no Prime Minister had ever called at a missionary's house before. Richard hastened to meet him, and they talked for an hour on religious toleration and political reform. The Prime Minister apologized for the non-appearance of the missionary edict for which Richard had specially come to appeal, saying that his colleagues would not support him. Richard begged that no distinction be made between Christians and non-Christians,

but that all be treated as possessed of equal Chinese rights. The Prime Minister then asked if Richard would help the Reform club, which the Government talked of resuscitating. Richard had no desire to be mixed up in merely political affairs. He asked to be excused, unless the club were meant to be a real power for the service of China, that is, not a centre for intrigue.

The Prime Minister honoured Richard by sending him four rolls of silk and eight boxes of biscuits for his journey. Sun Chia-nai had already given him a pair of fine dark blue and gold vases. These gifts Richard greatly treasured as indications of their friendliness.

The same evening he had a last interview with Viceroy Li, who had just been appointed to attend the Tsar's Coronation. Richard was greatly disappointed with the Viceroy's lack of generosity. Though he had expressed appreciation of the work of the S.D.K., he never gave a contribution to its funds, and, despite Richard's twenty years' work in his Viceroyalty, in famine relief, newspaper editing, and reform literature, the Viceroy would not admit that Christian missions were doing any good to China. On mentioning this ingratitude to Mr Pethick, the Viceroy's foreign adviser, his terse and appropriate reply was: "Shall men gather grapes of thorns?"

CHAPTER XX

SECOND FURLOUGH, 1896–1897

FOR over twenty-six years Richard had devoted himself unstintedly to China with but one furlough. His wife and family had long been absent in Europe and it was high time he joined them. In 1896 he decided to do so, and at the same time endeavour to bring the needs of China and also of the S.D.K. before the Christian public at home.

Accordingly he left Shanghai by the French mail steamer, in company with the Rev. A. G. Shorrock of the Baptist Missionary Society, Shensi. They travelled second class and had four Jesuit priests as companions. Neither party knowing the other's language, they conversed in Chinese.

It so happened that Viceroy Li was also a passenger on his way to represent China at the Coronation of the Tsar: in Russia he was treated with Oriental magnificence, to the splendour of which he and his suite made notable addition. Richard had several conversations with the famous Viceroy, during one of which the latter expressed surprise that a man of so much influence as Richard should be travelling second class, while even his secretaries travelled first. Richard has not recorded what he replied. At any rate the Viceroy had the evidence of his own eyes that he was not a Government servant!

Richard and Shorrock broke the journey by visiting India in order to see Dr Murdoch and the work of the Indian Christian Literature Society. Ever since the Mutiny Dr Murdoch had lived in Madras, carrying on his enlightening work. He received them with great kindness and treated them "as a father would his own sons." Everything was shown to them, even his own private notebook, revealing "the inner springs of his actions." They also visited the mission schools, which they found on a scale "ten times

as large as those in China," the latter having an average of but 60 pupils, while those in Madras numbered 600. Dr Miller's Christian College especially impressed him, the huge building being "like a vast human beehive." Into the experiences of this brave man he could feelingly enter, for Dr Miller had gone through the fiery ordeal of attack from those who opposed education as not proper mission work. He had emerged triumphant, and finally been elected Moderator of the Free Church of Scotland.

Warned against travelling across India in May with cholera prevalent, our travellers hesitated, but it was "now or never," so they took the risk and set out by steamer for Calcutta, where Shorrock had a sharp attack, narrowly escaping with his life. After seeing Calcutta they left one evening by train for Benares. On arriving at three in the afternoon they alighted at the wrong station, and had to ride across the city in a gharry through such heat as they had never known in China. On reaching their destination their hostess asked them: "Are you mad that you travel through the city at this time of day?" She sent them to bed at once, ordered them to remain there till the intense heat was over, and called punkah-wallahs to cool them by pulling their bed-punkahs—an uncommon article of bedroom furniture in China. After seeing the sights of Benares, the bathing in the Ganges, the burning of the dead on the river banks and the worship at the temples, they left for Agra, where they saw "the incomparable Taj Mahal." But to Richard the most remarkable sight was the famous Kutab Minar, near Delhi. They ascended this "wonderful tower, built exactly in the shape of a telescope," to see the sunrise. The Kutab Mosque and Minar were built by the Moslem rulers of India "as a monument of the triumph of monotheism over idolatry." Whether this triumph has been any real gain to India may well be doubted. In the courtyard of the Mosque he was also interested in the wonderful iron pillar erected several centuries B.C.

"On the way back to Delhi we were told the wonderful tale of one of the sacred shrines near by. It was the tomb

of a holy man famed for his wonders and miracles, whose power had rivalled that of the Emperor. In the latter's absence, his son plotted against him and sought the help of the saint. The Emperor, hearing of the conspiracy, vowed vengeance on his return, but the holy man declared that he would never again be in Delhi. When the Emperor's campaign ended in triumph, he sent word that he would inflict dire punishment on the rebels when he returned. The saint sent back the word: 'Delhi is a long way off!' Every day as the Emperor neared his capital he sent a messenger with the news, and every day came back the reply: 'Delhi is a long way off!' At last the Emperor with his host encamped in the suburbs of the city, and again the reply came back from the prophet: 'Delhi is yet a long way off!' Then the prince and ministers left the city to welcome the victorious Emperor back. At the end of the reception, when all had left his presence, the pavilion where he sat suddenly gave way and crushed him to death. Delhi was yet a long way off!"

In Bombay he was interested to find that at ten P.M. he could not walk on the sidewalks, as they were lined with people sleeping in the open air because of the great heat. When embarking on the French mail the next day he himself, accustomed as he was to the heat of North China, nearly fainted; but while in the Red Sea, though it was summer, they were glad to put on heavier coats.

From Marseilles he went to Paris, where his wife met him with their four daughters, who were at school there. It was a delightful reunion, the more so as he had not seen the two elder daughters for over ten years. After a few weeks Mrs Richard took the girls to school at Hanover, while he went to London. Riding through Paris to the station he narrowly escaped the great cyclone which swept along a narrow track, overturning omnibuses and killing and injuring many people.

His first step in England was to report himself to the Baptist Missionary Society. He and Shorrock, along with four or five other returned missionaries, were "welcomed"

home by the Committee. Richard's telling acknowledgment was the production of a box of books, each copy of which he explained in a few words—the presentation New Testament to the Dowager Empress, his translation of Mackenzie's *Nineteenth Century* in eight Chinese volumes, his *Historical Benefits of Christianity*, the bound annual volume of the *Review of the Times*, *The Missionary Review*, the Tientsin daily paper while under his editorship, various Chinese pirated issues of the *Review of the Times*, and other works.

One of his earliest aims was to place before the different Missionary Societies the need for the effective production and dissemination of enlightening literature written from the Christian standpoint. He saw not only the immediate need but an enormous prospective demand. If the new literature were to be written from the agnostic or anti-Christian standpoint, as was so much the case in Japan, it would result in the erection of a new and more formidable barrier to the moral and spiritual progress of the Far East. In the West the changes in, or varieties of, intellectual definition have had but secondary influence on religion and morals because the latter were already highly developed. The Far East is not as yet as well balanced as the Far West, and intellectual differences are apt to swing the students, and with them many of the people, to extremes, with consequent demoralization. This is seen in the present political condition of China, and not less so in the present anti-Christian agitation pursued with such virulence by certain of the student class. Mr Baynes, secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society, who was in sympathy with Richard's aspirations, arranged for him to address a joint meeting of missionary secretaries. He took for his subject "The Great Awakening of China," and showed what had been the influence of the S.D.K. publications on the minds of so many. If works such as these, issued under great difficulty by a meagre number of workers, could produce the results he was able to show, what could not be done by proper organization? His appeal to the Societies was that each should set apart one man to join him in the urgent work of reaching

China wholesale by the Press. "Conversion by the million" was his programme. In response the Church Missionary Society set apart the Rev. Gilbert Walshe, M.A.; the Wesleyans the Rev. W. A. Cornaby, while the London Missionary Society—unable to allocate a man at the time—agreed to make an annual grant.

He also made an appeal to the Bible Societies to allow the issue of explanatory tracts with their publications. Not only he but many other missionaries have hesitated to "broadcast" copies of the Scriptures without note or comment. For instance, the unwisdom of disseminating Genesis without note or comment, in face of modern scientific explanation of the origin of the world and of man, is self-evident, for the scientific explanation is now taught in the schools through China. A year before Richard made his appeal I had, with the full sympathy of Dr Wright, its secretary, urged on the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society the advisability either of permitting simple notes, especially of such terms as Pharisee, Galilee, and so on, or a preface to the "portion" offered, or an explanatory tract giving some account of it. An agreed statement could have been obtained from the various churches in China; but to both Richard and myself the reply had to be given that the Bible Society had no power to take such action by reason of its constitution, which, no doubt wisely, limits the Society to issuing the Bible, or its various portions, without note or comment. *They* offered the Book; it was for others to provide the explanation. Richard found that the Scottish Bible Society was the only one able to accord with his proposal. A similar difficulty arose in regard to the Religious Tract Society, otherwise there need not have been a separate Christian Literature Society either in India or China. The Religious Tract Society existed for the issue of religious books; consequently works of general enlightenment, or educational books such as the S.D.K. desired to publish, did not come within the scope of its constitution.

Besides the usual deputation work for the Baptist Missionary Society, Richard did his utmost to bring the financial needs of the S.D.K. before the Christian public. In all this

work Mrs Richard took an active and valuable part. He had also a large list of correspondents, and, amongst many others, got into touch with such leaders as the Archbishop of Canterbury, Mr Gladstone, Lord Curzon and Mr Stead. He also wrote a pamphlet on the Federation of the Nations, which he sent to the various Peace Societies and to prominent statesmen. During the summer of 1897 he wrote a booklet for the use of young statesmen. While returning to China via the United States he distributed copies of this booklet as opportunity occurred; ten years later a Washington banker, visiting China with other leaders of the Laymen's Movement, drew out of his pocket a well-worn copy and, showing it to its author, said: "I have carried it with me ever since."

On the way back to China in 1897 Richard went to Canada to interview the secretary of the Presbyterian Board. He urged that Board to allocate the Rev. D. MacGillivray, M.A., of West China, to the work of the S.D.K. The secretary, Dr Mackay, invited the secretaries of the other Canadian missions to meet him, and he addressed them for an hour on the need for, and power of, literature in China. Dr Mackay assented to Richard's proposal and obtained the authority of his Board for the allocation of Dr MacGillivray, who became one of Richard's devoted fellow-workers, has done admirable service, and is now Richard's successor as Organizing Secretary of the Christian Literature Society (S.D.K.) for China.

His furlough was, as most missionary furloughs are, profitable to the churches at home, by enabling them to realize more clearly the needs of the field and the work being done. Furloughs are also often directly profitable to the field itself. In this case it brought Cornaby, MacGillivray and Walshe to the great work of enlightening China by the pen, and also increased the number of friends and supporters of the S.D.K. The remarkable influence of its work on the minds of Chinese statesmen and scholars was out of all proportion to the extremely small number of men engaged upon it, or of the absurdly meagre means at their disposal. Had the various Missionary Societies possessed larger

incomes, no doubt they would have more liberally supported the S.D.K., but their commitments leave no margin. Proportionately to the funds employed, Protestant missions are probably the most successful agency in the world. What they might be were they made efficient by union, by the wise distribution of forces, and by qualified supervision, who dare say? Certain it is that the value of the Press is even yet but indifferently appreciated by the Societies, whose chief object is the formation of churches on Western lines. This they should do, but not leave undone the other, for the supreme value should be self-evident of the dissemination of the best Christian knowledge of the West to so vast a body of educated men, who are being trained in the science of the West, and who are to-day bombarded with anti-Christian literature.

CHAPTER XXI

THE REFORM MOVEMENT

DURING Richard's absence from China the Reform movement spread rapidly through the country. Neither he nor his colleague, Allen, fully realized the eagerness with which their monthly issues were anticipated. Some of us who lived in the interior can testify to this keenness on the part of *literati* in little country villages as well as of mandarins in high places. Allen's *History of the War—i.e.* the Chino-Japanese War—had had a very wide circulation. So highly was its author esteemed that he was invited to take charge of a university about to be established in Shanghai; but he decided to remain at his own mission college, where he conceived that better Christian work could be done. By request, he drew up a System of National Education, based mainly on the British Government system in India.

Richard describes the Reform movement as "like the thawing of a great glacier, or the breaking up of the frozen Amur, sweeping gigantic masses of obstructive ice down to the ocean." True, but later the ice packed and piled up in a last effort to withstand the flood, which was destined to sweep everything before it—thrones, sceptres, titles and regalia, queues and gowns — leaving China essentially as before; for the more it changes, the more it seems to be the same.

Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, K'ang Yu-wei's chief disciple, who had acted as Richard's secretary in Peking, started a newspaper in Shanghai, called *Chinese Progress*. In it he stirred the educated class throughout the Empire to the consideration of Reform. Instead of using the high classical style, only understood by advanced scholars, he adopted one more nearly approaching the language of the people, thus following the course of the Renaissance in Europe. He made this

style so chaste that even scholars admired it, while readers of ordinary education could understand it. Viceroy Chang Chih-tung of Central China and many other officials encouraged him. Even the hitherto bitterly anti-foreign province of Hunan changed its outlook and, in 1897, invited Liang to become president of a Reform College in its capital. The authorities there also invited Richard's able secretary, Ts'ai Er-k'ang, to go and deliver lectures; but he declined, saying that the new ideas he had expressed were not his own, but were entirely those of foreigners.

It was only when the Reform movement was taken up by the Chinese themselves, and by the educated class, that it developed wings. In like manner it is only when the Chinese themselves take up in earnest the question of religion that Christianity will find its wings. The recent Missionary Conference (1922) has evolved them in embryo. They will grow. At the three previous conferences there were scarcely any Chinese representatives. At this, one half the representatives were Chinese. At the next they are to number two-thirds. In the succeeding one the wings may be fully feathered. Once they have grasped new ideas, the Chinese are generally able, in the long run, to work them out sanely in their own way. That way may be different from ours, but it will work; and after all the spice of life in the world is variety—even in religion.

So the Reformers recognized that the old disdain and hatred of foreigners was neither justifiable nor healthy, and that mutual friendship could be cultivated with advantage. They recognized also that the ancient system was inadequate to modern requirements, and struggled for the adoption of Western learning. Some even went so far as to advocate the adoption of Christianity as the national religion, in place of Confucianism. So rapid was the progress that during a period little longer than that of Richard's absence on furlough the number of Chinese newspapers increased from nineteen to seventy.

Another remarkable feature of the new advance was the tardy recognition that woman had a value in the realm of mind and spirit. Until 1897 even a progressive centre like

Shanghai had no Chinese school for girls. It is safe to say that throughout the country not one woman in a thousand could read and write. Mission schools for girls, and the devotion of foreign women missionaries in teaching girls and women to read the Bible, was the foundation of girls' schools in China. The Bible has been responsible for much in the world, but it is doubtful if it has ever done anything greater than starting the women of China on their way out of the dark cave of ignorance into the light of learning. This enlightenment will yet work out for the good of China and of the world.

It was in 1897 that the first purely Chinese school for girls came into existence. It was initiated in Shanghai by the head of the Chinese Telegraph Administration and other reformers. To whom should such men turn for advice and assistance but to the Richards, who of course gladly responded. On Mrs Richard's advice, the daughter of Dr Y. J. Allen was appointed foreign mistress; while for Chinese they themselves selected a young lady who had been educated by the American Episcopal Mission. Mrs Richard was invited to be inspector of the school and visit it once a month, an office which she filled till her death.

In February 1898 the Reform Society published a *New Collection of Tracts for the Times.* Of the contents, forty-four essays were by Liang, thirty-eight by K'ang Yu-wei, and the editor included thirty-one of Richard's, a clear indication of the remarkable value of his work.

We now reach the period of noble hopes and aspirations doomed to be eclipsed by persecutions, martyrdoms, terrible bloodshed and widespread suffering. That the country was ready for reform on a grand scale no one doubted who knew the educated mind of that period. That the Empress Dowager and many of the Manchus were not strongly opposed to reform is also true. Of course the Conservative party were so in love with their own prestige and privileges that they sincerely thought Reform would mean destruction, not only to them, but to their nation. Most of them were serious-minded and patriotic, but under these twin banners much harm has been done in the world as well as good. The

primary fault lay with K'ang Yu-wei, who mistakenly pushed on the car of Reform faster than the state of the road permitted. It not only carried his load of Reform edicts, but a "safety bomb," which, of course, went off in unexpected fashion, blowing car, Reform, his passenger the Emperor, and himself into the air. All this may seem to belong to the life of K'ang Yu-wei rather than to that of Richard, but the influence of the latter's writings and his personality had been very great on many of the reformers, so he was naturally a keenly interested spectator of the doings of 1898. Had Richard been his adviser the Emperor would have been led to a type of action which, though seemingly slower, would have saved more than a quarter of a century of misery; for Richard was no wild enthusiast, but always, on second thoughts, well balanced. His red-hot enthusiasms were generally tempered by the cold bath of caution, especially where large issues were involved. The Reform movement of 1898, then, is really a part of Richard's life, and it is advisable to present it in ordered sequence.

In 1898 K'ang Yu-wei was a secretary of the Foreign Office (Tsungli Yamen). The youthful Emperor, moved to sympathy with reformation in consequence of the plight of his country, welcomed his society, and soon came greatly under his influence. Chang Yin-hwan, who had represented the Emperor at Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee in 1897, was at this time a member both of the Grand Council and of the Tsungli Yamen. He too had thrown in his lot with the Reform party. The under-secretaries of the Grand Council were also enthusiastic for Reform. Many of the great provincial officers—such as Viceroy Chang—and large numbers of the *literati*, especially the younger men, were looking for a lead. The Emperor himself was as enthusiastic as any of his subjects. The result was soon seen in a succession, indeed a too rapid succession, of revolutionary edicts:

"1. To abolish the essay system of examination which had been in vogue for the last five hundred years.

2. To establish a University for the study of Western science in Peking.

3. To convert temples into schools for Western education.
4. To establish a Translation Board whereby books on Western learning are to be translated into Chinese.
5. To establish a Patent Office for the encouragement of everything that is new and useful.
6. To protect Christianity without any further evasions.
7. To make the Reform paper—*Chinese Progress*—the official organ of the Government.
8. To abolish useless offices both in Peking and the provinces.
9. To send young Manchus abroad to study foreign languages."

It so happened that I was, for the first time, spending a few weeks in Pei t'ai-ho, the delightful seaside resort made by foreigners, some 200 miles by rail from Peking. Sir Robert Hart was taking his first holiday for sixteen years at the same place. Meeting me one morning in September, he took me into his inner room and showed me the edicts which had just reached him. We ran over them together, and I shall never forget the look on his face, or the delight with which he said: "I never expected to live to see this." A week or two later Mr Percy Walsham came into Mr J. R. Brazier's house in Peking, where my wife and I were staying, and announced the Empress Dowager's sudden return to power. Going in to say good-bye to Sir Robert Bredon on our way to the station, we found him busy at his desk translating her edict destroying Reform and restoring the old regime.

The Conservative party had watched with alarm the issue of the Emperor's edicts, and, to prevent surprise from the Reformers, they made a clever move. Prince Kung, President of the military and naval forces, had died in June, and the Prime Minister, Wêng T'ung Ho, Vice-President of the Board, should have succeeded him. Instead, the Empress Dowager saw to it that Viceroy Jung Lu, her kinsman and loyal supporter, should succeed, and the Prime Minister be dismissed. After his dismissal the Empress Dowager, while still in retirement, gave audiences to high ministers

and commanded them to memorialize her direct. The Conservatives assured her that the Emperor's wild schemes would ruin the country and implored her again to take the helm. She issued an edict saying that she would review the troops under Jung Lu in Tientsin in the autumn. Fearing that this was but a pretext to deprive the Emperor of power, K'ang Yu-wei and the Reformers urged him to forestall her, throw a guard round her abode in the Summer Palace, and thus prevent her from communicating with her supporters.

Yuan Shih-k'ai, later the President and Dictator of the Chinese republic and would-be sovereign, was sent for by the Emperor. He was a member of the Reform party and a man of outstanding ability. Afterwards he became the one strong man of his day, and but for vaulting ambition that o'erleapt itself, ambition much fed by flatterers, he might have saved his country the horrors it has now for years endured. The details of the interview are unpublished, but it is reasonably assumed that the Emperor told Yuan his fears, pointed out that unless prompt action were taken all hope of Reform would be at an end, and that his, the Emperor's, own life was at stake as well as the lives of the Reformers. Yuan was authorized to bring troops from Tientsin to surround the Dowager's palace. There was a report, still believed on insufficient evidence, that the Emperor ordered Yuan to put to death Viceroy Jung Lu, the Dowager's strength and stay, and to take over his office and his army. Whatever were the orders, Yuan faithfully swore to obey them, but instead went post-haste to Tientsin and told the whole story to Jung Lu. It is true that Yuan was indebted to the Empress Dowager and to his chief, Jung Lu, for the position he held, and it may be that he had little faith in the young Emperor or his new advisers. Facing the dilemma of being traitor to his immediate chief or to the Emperor, he cast in his lot against Reform and in favour of reaction, with disastrous consequences. Jung Lu wasted not a moment's time in setting out for the protection and support of the Dowager. She promptly summoned her party to her aid, and the celebrated *coup d'état* resulted.

Richard arrived in Peking by invitation shortly before

this event took place. During the summer of 1898 K'ang Yu-wei had consulted him as to measures of reform, and Richard had suggested that as Marquis Ito had been so successful in converting Japan into a strong Power, the best course would be for the Chinese Government to invite him to be adviser to the Emperor. Later K'ang sent word to Richard inviting him to be one of the Emperor's foreign advisers, and it was in response to this call that he found himself in Peking in the middle of September. On the way he made the acquaintance on board ship of two interesting men. One of these was Yuan Chang. This heroic man, during the Siege of the Legations in 1900, dared to remonstrate with the Dowager against the massacre of foreigners, and, with even greater daring, changed the wording of several of her telegrams to Viceroys and Governors from " Exterminate the foreigner " into " Protect the foreigner." His courage cost him his life. The other travelling companion was a naturalized American citizen, Dr Yung Wing.

On arriving, Richard called on K'ang Yu-wei, who told him that the situation was far from peaceful, that he himself was shortly leaving for Shanghai, but that further instructions would be given to Richard by the Emperor's tutor, Sun Chia-nai, T'an Tze-t'ung, or others in close contact with the Emperor. Richard found himself staying in the same hotel as Marquis Ito, and had much friendly intercourse with his chief secretary, Mr Tsuda, afterwards editor of the *Japan Times*, and, still later, secretary to Prince Ito when resident in Korea. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, recommended to a Government post by Viceroy Chang Chih-tung, was also in Peking.

Before the arrival of Viceroy Jung Lu to protect her the Dowager had become suspicious of the Emperor's movements. There were spies enough about the Emperor to keep her well informed. She therefore requested Jung Lu to make sure of ample forces, and he accordingly telegraphed to the semi-barbarous General T'ung Fu-hsiang, later of Boxer fame, to bring his fierce hordes from Kansu. At the same time she demanded of the Emperor the arrest of K'ang Yu-wei, who she said had poisoned his mind against her.

The Emperor in alarm sent a hasty message to K'ang commanding him to leave for Shanghai immediately. K'ang, unaware of his danger, set out for Tientsin; he first took his baggage on to a Chinese steamer, then, fortunately for himself, transferred it to a British ship. The Dowager on reaching Peking immediately ordered his arrest. Discovering that he had departed, she telegraphed in cipher to Chefoo, where the ship would call, and also to Shanghai, to have him arrested and instantly decapitated. During the steamer's short stay in Chefoo, K'ang innocently took a walk along the seashore, picking up shells. His safe return to the ship was solely due to the Taot'ai's absence, for he alone could decodify the Dowager's telegram. At Shanghai the Chinese authorities were alert to seize K'ang, but the British authorities, desirous of avoiding the international complications which would arise from his arrest in a port under foreign control, sent Consul Byron Brennan to Woosung to meet the British steamer on which K'ang travelled, who showed him his danger and advised his transfer to a P. & O. steamer. This advice K'ang gladly adopted, was safely transhipped for Hong-Kong, and to avoid assassination soon left there for the Straits Settlements, and afterwards for Europe.

While all this was pending, the Emperor's tutor, Sun Chia-nai, called on Richard to say that his Majesty wished him to attend an audience on 23rd September. That audience never took place, for meanwhile the *coup d'état* occurred. When the news reached Marquis Ito that Yuan Shih-k'ai had gone over to the Dowager, and that she, through Viceroy Lu, had control of the army, he exclaimed, " It is too late. The Emperor can do nothing without the army," and at once packed his baggage and left Peking.

Immediately after the Dowager had swooped down on Peking and seized the Emperor, Sun Chia-nai again called on Richard and told him she had conveyed the Emperor to a small island in the Palace lake, and, at the very hour when Richard was to have had his interview, she had resumed the reins of government, making the Emperor a lifelong prisoner.

Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and T'an Sze-t'ung also came to see Richard, and told him that an edict was out for their arrest. Measures were then discussed for the protection of the Emperor, whose life was in the greatest danger. It was decided that Dr Yung Wing, being an American citizen, should see the American minister; Liang Ch'i-ch'ao the Japanese minister; and Richard the British minister. Unfortunately the British minister was at Pei-t'ai-ho, and the American minister absent.

Now that difficulties had arisen Richard received curt treatment at the British Legation; whereupon he proceeded to Tientsin to meet the minister himself, who was hastening back from Pei-t'ai-ho to the capital. On meeting him Richard urged that the utmost possible effort should be made to save the Emperor and the lives of the Reformers. Unhappily the then British minister had been but a short time in China. Not only was he unacquainted with the language, but he had not yet acquired a knowledge of the people. A mutual friend told Richard that the minister, before his return from Pei-t'ai-ho, had never even heard of K'ang Yu-wei!

On 21st September the city gates were closed and all trains stopped while a search was made for the leading Reformers. My wife and I, then in Peking, left early for the station, but we had to wait till evening, when a train was despatched for Tientsin. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao succeeded in escaping to Tientsin, where he was chased by a Government launch, but got safely on board a Japanese steamer and reached Japan. Other Reformers fled to Japan, Macao and America, but six of the most notable were seized and executed without trial. One of these was T'an Sze-t'ung, a brilliant scholar of thirty-three years, son of the Governor of Hupeh province and sponsored by several high officials. He, with K'ang Yu-wei, had drawn up several of the Emperor's edicts. Others were Liu Kwang-ti, Yang Tze-wei, Yang Shih-shen (a censor), K'ang Kuang-in (K'ang Yu-wei's brother), and Lin Shio, a youth of twenty-six, descendant of Commissioner Lin who, after destroying the opium in Canton in 1839, was so disdainfully anti-foreign

that the so-called "Opium War" resulted. Four of the six had been under-secretaries of the Grand Council. Lin was refused permission to speak, but T'an, ignoring permission, boldly said that he had heard how many reformers in other lands had died for their country, and that he was willing to shed his blood for his country's salvation; "but," he cried to his judges, "for every one that perishes to-day a thousand will rise up to carry on the work of Reform, and uphold loyalty against usurpation"—words which did not wait many years for fulfilment. At his last interview with Richard he said: "Had your advice been taken the cause would have been won. Now all is lost for the present"—for Richard had invariably opposed haste, and had always urged the conversion of the Empress Dowager as well as that of the Emperor. Lin Shio's bride, hearing of his execution, by her own hand followed him into the spirit world. Ch'ên Pao-ch'un, Governor of Hunan, was degraded for life; Su Chih-ching, a prominent Hanlin over sixty, was degraded for life for recommending K'ang Yu-wei; his son, Chancellor of Education in Hunan, was degraded for life, and memorialized the Throne for permission to take his father's place in prison. Chang Yin-huan, former minister to the United States of America, and Special Envoy to Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee, was banished to the wilds of Kashgar, where he was murdered by the Boxers two years later. Ch'in Chih, who helped Richard to compose his Scheme of Reform, died of a broken heart. Wên T'ing-shih, tutor to the Imperial ladies, and a friend of Richard's, escaped out of the country. Wang Chao, a friend of the Rev. George Owen of Peking and an earnest sympathizer with Christianity, fled to Japan; a year or two later a Buddhist priest, who refused to send in his card, called on Richard in Shanghai and when they were alone took up a pen and traced his name, Wang Chao, on his hand.

On 4th June 1899 an edict appeared in the Emperor's name stating that ill health compelled him to abdicate. The country was not so easily hoodwinked; it knew that though the pen might be the Emperor's, the hand which used it was the Dowager's. Accordingly vigorous protests were

sent from the provinces. Amongst them was a telegram from the scholars, gentry and merchants of Shanghai sent by Ch'ing Lien-shan, the Director of Telegraphs and founder of the Shanghai Girls' School. Three days later Mrs Ch'ing came to urge Richard to help her husband, whose arrest had been ordered from Peking. Richard advised him to go to Japan or Macao, and gave him letters of introduction. The Girls' School had to be closed immediately, but, in order to protect the property till brighter days should dawn, Ch'ing transferred it to Richard, in whose name it was thereupon registered to prevent its confiscation.

The Dowager, perceiving that the country was against her forcing the abdication of the Emperor, allowed him to remain Emperor in name, but assumed all the Imperial authority.

Richard had steadily warned the Reformers against undue haste, and had "specially impressed on his reforming friends the necessity of having reforming influences brought to bear on the Empress Dowager; if that could be managed she would change just as the Emperor had done." But reformers are eager and in haste, with results often very different from their hopeful anticipations. Thus was it with the first Reform Movement.

The following letter to Mr Tse Tsan-tai, of Hong-Kong, written on 15th December 1898, indicated that Richard was not blind to the real spirit of many of the Reformers, but had clear insight as well as faith:—

"I am in receipt of your letter of the 6th instant making inquiries about your friend (Kang Yu-Wei).

"I did all I could through a friend in Peking, and since then I have written to him (your friend) direct saying that everything has been arranged satisfactorily about his poor brother (Kang Kwang Yin).

"As to the other question for the salvation of China I am doing all in my power. But the Manchus refuse *light* and will not invite the help of *friendly* foreigners. Some of the leading Chinese mandarins also have published documents in which they insult the best men of the West. They

want to learn foreign military and naval affairs, they want to open mines, *in order to fight the foreigners and drive them out of China*. It is this want of friendliness on the part of the Manchus and some of the leading mandarins, and even *hatred of all foreigners* which makes it impossible that God should give power to them. It is such principles which destroy China most of all. The salvation of China as well as the whole world lies in the cultivation not of militarism but of friendship. Let the best people of China and of the West but persevere in their good work of making *peace* and *goodwill* and goodness their chief aim, then prosperity will in due time follow. But if nations only seek their *own national interests first*, then no matter how great they are, and whether they are Chinese or European nations, they cannot last long, when they make righteousness a secondary aim."

CHAPTER XXII

THE BOXER MADNESS

RIPE though the provinces were for Reform, and submissive though they would have proved even to the abrupt measures adopted, the Empress Dowager, controlling the army, was easily able to override all opposition. Nor was she alone, for all the reactionaries of the country, in their hatred of everything foreign, were on her side. Moreover, Reform is always disturbing, and men with vested official interests, a numerous class in the capital, most of them for private, some for public, reasons, rejoiced over the Emperor's failure. Little did they realize that with that failure there would be let loose the avalanche of Boxer miseries, and forces which ultimately would overthrow the dynasty.

On the return to power of the Empress Dowager the Reform Decrees were abrogated, and the Emperor's work apparently all undone. Such, however, was not wholly the case, for during the Reform period, brief though it was, a great impetus had been given to the establishment of modern schools, and already many Buddhist temples had been transformed into educational establishments. Why Buddhist schools should thus have been honoured rather than temples to Confucius can only be accounted for on the ground of the old domineering spirit of Confucianism over its rivals. It preferred to seize the property of its rivals rather than to raise to the higher status of educational work the temples of China's Great Sage, as he himself would undoubtedly have wished. While, then, the capital became increasingly reactionary, the country as a whole maintained and increased its advance. It was, indeed, in no small measure due to the modern trend of Chinese thought and endeavour that the greater part of China was kept safe during the Boxer upheaval.

In the summer of 1899 the S.D.K. Committee sent Richard to Peking in order to discover if influence could be brought to bear on the Government in favour of an organized scheme of education for China. It must be remembered that there was still an element in the Government which favoured progress, though not at the speed desired by the Reformers. Richard's visit was for the purpose of finding out whether, and by what method, such a scheme of education could be advanced, and to offer the services of the S.D.K. in the provision of the necessary school literature. As Sir Robert Hart was President of the Society, Richard went first to him. With every desire to assist, Sir Robert was very pessimistic about the attitude of the Government, as it vetoed any suggestions for Reform, and he finally advised against an approach to the high officials. Richard, nevertheless, saw a few of them, corresponded with Viceroy Jung Lu and K'ang Yi, and also had an interview with Li Hung Chang in Tientsin. It was there that he now first met Chou Fu, then one of Li's assistants, who later became Governor of Shantung and Viceroy at Nanking. Richard found him "a most lovable personality" and later had much intercourse with him. He was the first great official to take a deep interest in Christianity, and, as will be shown, saved the lives of the missionaries in Szechuan in 1900. Subsequently he became Viceroy of Nanking and then of Canton.

During the winter of 1899-1890 Li Hung Chang was appointed Viceroy at Canton. On his way thither he stopped at Woosung, at the mouth of the Shanghai river, and sent a special messenger to Shanghai to invite the French Consul-General and Richard, mutual acquaintances, to come and see him. They found the Viceroy in the highest spirits, like a man tired of a long holiday and keen to be back at work again. Richard afterwards suspected he must have scented the Boxer distresses and was glad to be going to Canton to escape them.

With the reactionaries in power it was natural that an anti-foreign spirit should be developed. Moreover, quite sufficient foreign aggression was making itself felt to add abundant fuel to the fire of their anger. With their patriotism

one may have much sympathy, with their suicidal stupidity none. The moderate Reformers, many of them in very high position, were powerless to check the anti-foreign spirit of these fanatics, whose only policy was the expulsion of the foreigner. Had there been any suggestion of a feasible plan of operations this policy might easily have united all parties in China, for the Reformers were by no means lovers of the foreigner; indeed one of the chief objects of their programme was to strengthen China against foreign aggression. But the plotters and executors of the reactionary policy were obviously the most ignorant and pig-headed of Manchu Tories, and their methods those of Bedlam.

The most prominent of the reactionaries was K'ang Yi, a Manchu, whom, as already mentioned, Richard had known in Shansi, and later in Peking. He it was who advocated the formation of militia to be enrolled and employed for national defence, a perfectly proper idea if sanely developed by means of sufficient equipment and training. In order to create these enormous trained bands K'ang Yi was authorized by the Empress Dowager to travel through the richer part of the country in order to raise contributions—really forced levies—from the people. His office earned for him the sobriquet of "The Great Extortioner." In 1899, when passing through Shanghai, he sent a mutual friend, formerly Provincial Treasurer in Shansi, to invite Richard to call on him. During the interview K'ang Yi soundly rated Richard for supporting K'ang Yu-wei, declaring that the latter was not a genuine reformer, but only ambitious for power. Richard was equal to the occasion and promptly replied that here was a great opportunity for his host, K'ang Yi, to take the lead in *true* Reform. However apropos this advice may have been, it failed to appeal to Richard's friend, the Treasurer, who signalled his disapproval by kicking Richard's leg under the table; he knew that no Chinese Reformer would accept such a bigot as K'ang Yi.

There had been much to stir both Reformers and reactionaries to action for the salvation of their country, and, unfortunately for the Christian Church, there were some things which had linked it all too closely with foreign aggression.

The latest instance had been the action of Germany in regard to Shantung, which province became the centre of the Boxer rising, as German action was directly the cause. In 1897 two Roman priests were murdered by Chinese. France had hitherto been the protector of all Roman Catholic missionaries in China, but, as these two priests were of German nationality, the German Government availed itself of the opportunity for intervention, and seized the port of Tsing-tao, a projected Chinese naval base. No warning having been given of an attack, the Chinese soldiers at drill on the spot, thinking the Germans had landed merely for drill practice, generously offered them their own drill-ground! It was when Prince Henry was despatched to the East in connection with this move that the Kaiser made his notorious reference to the "mailed fist." China had perforce to yield all the German demands. In the same year Russia obtained a lease of Port Arthur, China's most valuable naval base in the north; Great Britain, as much in China's interest as in her own, obtained Wei-hai-wei in Shantung; France was pressing for expansion of territory in the south; and even Italy, with but trivial interests in China, was endeavouring to obtain San-mun Bay, one of the few suitable naval bases left to China. In addition, "spheres of influence" were being bargained for and arranged amongst the foreign nations, and the "dividing of the melon" seemed imminent. Can one wonder that the Reformers saw that the only salvation for their country was to bring it in formidable line with its rivals, or that the blind reactionaries thought it would be quicker to run the weighty, if unarmed, body of China headlong against its foes and drive them into the sea? The means, if not the idea, was suggested to these reactionaries by the appearance of the Boxers. They were members of a banned secret society with Taoist connections, and this society sprang again into life consequent on local famines, dissatisfaction with the Government, German aggression, and the feeling that foreign importations, such as railways, telegraphs and so on, were disturbing the guardian spirits and bringing distress to China in their train. At first anti-dynastic, the movement was later captured by the

reactionaries and turned into an anti-foreign and anti-Christian movement. It was begun and developed with the wild fantasies of hypnotized youths, who declared the presence of myriads of celestial soldiers and the immunity of all patriotic soldiers from foreign bullets. The Red Lantern Society, a women's organization, became a valuable ally. Mutterings of the forthcoming storm made themselves heard to many ears. Only the Legations were deaf.

Early in 1900 Richard had to leave China to attend the World Missionary Conference in New York, where he and I again met each other. Before his departure Dr Arthur Smith, a brilliant writer on China and well acquainted, through long residence, with Shantung, had thought it his duty to give detailed information and serious warning to the American Legation in Peking; but he was disregarded. Richard took with him Dr Smith's report and placed it, along with his own information and views, before the Executive of the Ecumenical Committee in New York. He urged that steps should immediately be taken to endeavour to prevent the terrible danger with which not only missionaries and converts, but all foreigners were being threatened. The Executive, however, decided that any proceeding on its part would savour too much of political action, and that its constitution forbade interference in politics.

In Boston Richard was invited to address the Twentieth Century Club, and on 5th May he placed the situation before its members. When they realized that not only the safety of the Christian missions, but the peace of the world and the best interests of China depended upon prompt action, they requested Richard to lay the matter before the Government at Washington, and gave him letters of introduction which would open any door.

Next day he set out for Washington, carrying with him a printed statement of the condition of affairs, and a Petition to the U.S. Government which Dr William Ashmore, the well-known American Baptist missionary, signed. Mr John Hay, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, was most considerate,

but said no important step could be taken without the support of two-thirds of the Senate. Senator Hoar, President of the Senate, saw Richard, but told him nothing could be done without the support of the leading cities, New York being the most influential. He next saw Mr Morris K. Jessop, Chairman of the New York Chamber of Commerce, and spent an evening with him; but he said nothing short of a massacre would justify action on the part of the Government.

This was the final blow to his hopes of averting catastrophe, and within a fortnight telegrams began to arrive announcing that massacres had already begun.

Returning to China via Japan, within ten minutes of his arrival at Yokohama he read, in a newspaper extract, of the narrow escape of the missionaries in Shantung. Alarmed by the news that the attack, commenced in the metropolitan province (Chihli), was spreading to other provinces, and that Peking was cut off from the outside world, he was at his wits' end what to do, when, as he says, "God gave me a thought." He telegraphed from Kobe, the next port of call, to the British Consul-General in Shanghai, advising that Lord Salisbury should announce to the Viceroys and Governors of China that the British Government would hold them personally responsible for the safety of its subjects. He sent the wire anonymously, but on his arrival at Shanghai a few days later he was delighted to see in the morning paper a Reuter's telegram stating that Lord Salisbury had informed the Chinese minister in London that the British Government would hold the Viceroys and Governors personally responsible for the safety of British subjects in their respective provinces. Whether Lord Salisbury's decision was a coincidence, or the direct result of Richard's advice, we have no means of discovering.

Knowing that every telegram of any importance sent to a private person would be immediately conveyed to the provincial Governor, Richard promptly sent a wire to his Mission in Si-an, the capital of Shensi, and to his Mission in Tai-yuan-fu, capital of Shansi, repeating Reuter's telegram. Its earlier arrival would probably have made no difference to the action of Yü Hsien, the infamous Manchu Governor of

Shansi, who had already massacred the Protestant and Catholic missionaries. The telegram was duly received in Shensi. What direct influence it had we do not know, but it is a fact that the Manchu Governor, Tuan Fang, kept secret for some days the Empress Dowager's orders for the massacre of the missionaries, and sent soldiers to escort them safely out of his province on the way to Hankow. For some time the Governor had been on friendly terms with Dr Moir Duncan, and on receiving the Dowager's telegram sent for him and secretly told him to lose not a moment in taking away his fellow-missionaries. Later, Dr Duncan was just in time to prevent German troops from sacking Governor Tuan Fang's house in Peking. Some years afterwards I had the pleasure of meeting this excellent and scholarly man, who had risked position and life to save the missionaries. He was afterwards made Viceroy of Nanking, and finally was sent to make peace in the far western province of Szechuan, a province in which he was greatly respected; but soon afterwards the Revolution broke out and he was wickedly assassinated there by the soldiers, bearing himself nobly.

It was an overwhelming shock to Richard to hear of the terrible tragedy in Shansi province, where he had lived so long, and where he had done so great a work in friendly co-operation with officials and gentry. The question has been asked whether this terrible catastrophe would have happened had he been allowed to remain in Tai-yuan-fu. His transparent sincerity, fineness of character and gracious dealing with Chinese officials, high and low, made them his friends. Whether his personality would have influenced the Governor Yü Hsien, a man steeped in superstition, and the abettor in Shantung of the Boxers, who shall say? Such a question is unanswerable, but it is certain that if anyone could have won the sympathy of Yü Hsien that one was Richard. Unlike the Manchu, Tuan Fang, this Manchu, Yü Hsien, had no pity for the missionaries and their families, who were scattered in small groups throughout his province. When the Empress Dowager's telegram came to exterminate the foreigners, he and his subordinate Chinese officials gave free rein to their own and the people's racial prejudice, and

where little more than twenty years earlier missionaries had been saving the lives of thousands of starving people, their successors were now murdered, in many cases with details of shocking barbarity. Yü Hsien himself superintended the massacre of forty-six missionaries, including women and children, and is said to have taken part in it with his own hand. Many a time, with bared head, I have ridden into this great Yamen past the spot where these dear people laid down their lives. In his province 159 missionaries—men, women and children—and many thousands of Christians were done to death by the brutality of this man. Shansi had the heaviest death-roll of the provinces of China.

To this Governor came the fleeing Empress Dowager in 1900, carrying with her, against his will, the Emperor. Thence she fled farther south to Si-an, in Shensi. Before she left Shansi she told Yü Hsien that she would probably have to sacrifice him to appease the foreigners' wrath. This she did the following year, when he was exiled and then executed at Lan Chou, in Kansu province. Years after, when the Revolution of 1911 took place, and the Manchus were massacred wholesale in Si-an, Yü Hsien's daughter fled to and found a refuge with the Baptist missionaries in that city whose colleagues had been her father's victims.

In the great province of Szechuan the foreigners would have suffered a similar fate to those in Shansi but for the courage of Chou Fu, the Provincial Treasurer there, whom Richard had met, as previously mentioned, at Li Hung Chang's in Tientsin the year before. Chou Fu was deeply interested in the S.D.K. publications. The Viceroy of the province was a Manchu reactionary named Kuei Chun. When news began to reach Szechuan that foreigners were being massacred in other parts of China, many of the officials urged the Viceroy to assemble the foreigners in the three centres, Chêng-tu (the capital), Chung-king and Sui-fu, and there destroy them. Chou Fu alone amongst them all denounced the scheme, saying: "What good will the massacre of a few foreigners be to you when you will set the whole world against you?" So strong was his influence that he succeeded in persuading the Governor to protect the

foreigners. Edict after edict came from Peking to destroy them, but the Viceroy put each as it arrived, not into his desk, but into the privacy of his high boot, and denied its existence to the anti-foreign officials. It was a brave procedure, and showed his confidence in Chou Fu, for Boxer success would have meant the loss of his head, as well as Chou Fu's. Thus the foreigners in Szechuan owed their lives to Chou Fu, and Chou Fu owed his wise outlook in no small measure to Richard.

This is not the place to give a detailed account of the Boxer madness, its collapse, or the consequences to China and the nations. It arose out of ignorance, prejudice, superstition and a sense of grievance on the one hand, and out of foreign aggression, chiefly German, on the other. The Legations in Peking were besieged, and a splendid defence made until their relief months later. Many foreigner civilians and numbers of soldiers were killed. Hundreds of missionaries and thousands of converts laid down their lives. Tens of thousands of Boxers perished and probably an equal number of the common people. Enormous damage was done to property, and an indemnity imposed by Western Governments which is still not half paid. In the end the foreign Powers, instead of inviting the Emperor back to his throne, invited the Empress Dowager. In due course she came in magnificent state, bringing large spoils to add to the immense treasure she had safely hidden away before fleeing, and ready to receive the adulations of the wives of foreign ministers, to whom the present of a few trinkets from the hands of this woman was doubtless more pleasant than the thoughts of the tortures those hands had inflicted on their fellow-countrywomen, as well as on some of the bravest of her own people. Women sovereigns in China have a bad name, but none has so rapidly ruined a dynasty, one of the greatest in history, as did this Empress. Her *coup d'état* was the bomb which blew up the Empire; 1898 brought forth 1911.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE SHANSI UNIVERSITY: A DREAM FULFILLED

IN 1901 Richard was invited by the plenipotentiaries, Prince Ch'ing and Viceroy Li Hung Chang, to go north to assist in the settlement of the Shansi troubles. The Allies had already avenged the Pao-ting-fu massacres by executing officials and Boxer leaders there, and the Chinese feared that an expedition would be marched into Shansi to perform a similar act of justice. The plenipotentiaries therefore appealed to Richard to find some other way of redemption. At length, after many years, Richard saw the way open to "avenge" himself on the province he had vainly struggled to arouse to temporal and spiritual salvation. It could be no ordinary "vengeance" he would demand. It must be truly Christian or it would fail. The Catholics had made large demands, calculated to embitter the feeling of the province against them. Protestant Missionary Societies had decided that the price of their missionaries' lives was beyond computation in dollars. Richard therefore told the plenipotentiaries that missions would not sell the lives of their missionaries for money. Nevertheless that a great crime had been committed was evident to the world. No Government could afford to ignore it, and therefore some outstanding act of acknowledgment and reparation should be made. He considered that this would only be satisfactorily done if it prevented further excesses of so deplorable a character, excesses which arose out of ignorance and superstition. He proposed that a fine of half-a-million taels (about £100,000) should be imposed upon Shansi province, payment to be spread over ten years, and that the money should be devoted to the establishment of a university on Western lines, to be situated in Tai-yuan-fu, for the education in modern knowledge of the ablest young men of the province. It was a great and a generous proposal, of which only a man of

Richard's experience and vision was capable. In this proposal he must have seen the assured realization of a splendid dream.

The heaping of coals of fire on anyone's head is apt to be unpleasant for both heaper and heaped, but Richard's grace in carrying through the proceeding left little soreness on either side. It must not, however, be thought that the Chinese were eager either to apologize or to make amends. It cannot be said that the province was in any way ashamed of what had been done. Had no deleterious consequences attached themselves to the cruel, the monstrous stoning to death of men, women and children, the casting of them into their burning houses, the beheading of them by a polished " gentleman " aided by other of the fine flower of an ancient civilization, then the province would have been proud of its achievement. It is just neither to China nor ourselves to ignore the difference between a non-Christian and a Christian community. Both are very imperfect, but the moral civilization of China is still that of our own Middle Ages. Consequently there was no real regret over the massacres of the foreign barbarians or their Chinese dupes. Neither would the execution of leading officials or riotous leaders have added one ounce to the regret, save on the ground of the loss of so many patriots. Nor would a heavy fine have done anything more than increase the still existing anti-foreign feeling, so easy of stimulation by the educated class. Revenge begets revenge. Hatred may be a stimulating air in which to live, but it is too bracing for friendship or co-operation. Richard was sure that the Christian solution was the best. Justice would be met by the imposition of the sum of 50,000 taels a year for ten years, a trifling sum for so large a province. Sincere generosity would be shown in the devotion of the whole sum towards the development of the great natural resources of the province through the development of its ablest young men. Nothing would be taken out of the province, but much of immense value would be put into it.

The proposal was immediately adopted by the plenipotentiaries, and they placed the appointment of the professors, the arranging of the curriculum, and the administration

of the funds of the proposed university in Richard's hands for ten years, after which period the control was to pass into the hands of the Shansi Government.

His educational programme for Shansi had wider issues, for the Government promptly adopted his ideas. Edicts were issued commanding the establishment of a provincial university on Western lines in each provincial capital of the country. It is, however, one thing to command and another to fulfil. That great scheme has not yet been realized. First of all, there were no competent teachers available, and scarcely any students with even a meagre preliminary modern education. Later mismanagement prevailed, and now for many years chaos has ruled the land. But the promulgation of this command had a stimulating influence in every province, and was evidential of the Government's conversion and of its conviction that old methods would have to be modified. The new command had a vexatious repercussion in Shansi, where the Governor, the officials and the gentry seized upon it to confound Richard and his humiliating indemnity university.

It was impossible for Richard himself to undertake the creation of the university. His duties in Shanghai could not be relegated to another. Happily he secured as Founder and first Principal a man eminently fitted for the post in the Rev. Moir Duncan, M.A., of the Baptist Missionary Society in Shensi. Mr Duncan was a man of fine spirit, of great enthusiasm, inexhaustible energy, and well acquainted with the language and the character of the people. He was a good Chinese classical scholar, having studied at Oxford under my learned predecessor, Dr James Legge. He won universal respect and the love of his colleagues as a fearless, honest and capable administrator. In 1905 his University of Glasgow conferred on him the degree of LL.D. With him there went to Tai-yuan-fu Mr Eric Nyström, B.Sc., son of a member of the Swedish Senate. He became Professor of Chemistry and remained in the university till it was handed over to the Chinese.

Richard, Duncan and Nyström went to Tai-yuan-fu in the spring of 1902, and on arriving found that, as a result

of the before-mentioned edict for the foundation of a university in every province, steps were already being taken in Shansi to found a rival university. It was to be under the control of a Chinese anti-foreign official, utterly opposed to the university Richard was empowered to establish. This man had once travelled in Europe and had written a book about his journey, attributing false motives to everything good he had seen. Richard was no more in favour of rival universities in the same city than he had formerly been of rival schools or rival missionaries. He therefore at once entered into negotiations with the Governor of the province, Ts'ên Ch'un Hsüan, for the amalgamation of the two proposed institutions. He found that the Governor was labouring under a misunderstanding about Richard's aims and methods, and was inclined to favour the proposed opposition university, suggesting that the two would be in healthy rivalry. Richard pointed out that by such a method there would only be two small colleges, each imperfectly equipped, whereas, if the two were united into one, the Conservatives could have the opportunity in their own department of teaching Chinese learning; while in the other, under foreign direction, Western learning could be taught. By this division of labour greater efficiency would result without the expense of two sets of professors, apparatus and general equipment. Prolonged deliberations followed, and amalgamation was finally accepted. Regulations were drawn up forming the university in these two departments, a Chinese department for Chinese studies and under Chinese control, and a Western department for Western subjects under Richard's control. During the negotiations the opposing party thought they had secured the support of the students who had already been matriculated. They accordingly set a subject for an essay on the advantages and disadvantages of a united university. The result upset their calculations, for out of 108 essays 68 were in favour of union and only 13 definitely against it.

Of course there were not lacking those who accused Richard of throwing away a fine opportunity for founding a definitely Christian university. They thought, not illogic-

ENTRANCE TO THE SHANSI UNIVERSITY

The gate is on the left between the near and distant triple "archways." The ornamental wall on the right stands opposite the entrance to ward off malign influences.

THE LIBRARY AND CLOCK TOWER, SHANSI UNIVERSITY

The Library contained an excellent selection of Western literature. Lecture hours were announced by the drummer seen on the right.

ally, that an indemnity which acknowledged so dreadful a crime should be devoted directly to the ends for which the martyred missionaries had come to China. That would have been an excellent course to take with willing officials and eager students. But where were the willing officials, and whence were the eager students to come? The officials only grudgingly yielded to the unavoidable. There were no Christian students in the province. And to compel an entire body of non-Christian students to submit to Christian propaganda in a university established by non-Christian provincial funds would have been immoral, and have defeated its own ends. Moreover, both Richard and Duncan recognized that a rival Government institution, backed by official funds and by the anti-foreign and anti-Christian prejudices of the officials and *literati*, would destroy the spirit of friendship and goodwill which it was the primary object of the scheme to cultivate. It would have been by no means difficult for the provincial authorities to engage anti-religious foreign professors and thus cultivate a more bitter opposition to Christianity than any which existed. Nothing would have pleased Richard and Duncan more than that the Governor and his colleagues should be wise enough to say: By all means teach your religion, but leave our men full liberty of discussion and reply. Far from this being the official attitude, a vigorous attempt was made to forbid the teaching of Christianity in any form in the university. To this proposal Richard absolutely refused to agree, for he felt that to do so would be to mitigate the massacre of the missionaries and converts by admitting that "what they had taught and believed was not worthy of the university."

The Governor had sent a clever talker of Tao-t'ai's rank to discuss this proposal with Richard, and "he argued his point for no less than eight hours on end." Physically tired and mentally irritated, Richard was afraid he might say something he would afterwards regret, so he retired into a side room to pray for guidance. Within two minutes he was back again facing a clear course. He told the Tao-t'ai that the "question of religious liberty had been agreed to by China in several treaties with foreign nations. If the Governor

had now received special authority to supersede all these treaties and abrogate them, we might then discuss such a regulation forbidding Christianity." If he had not been specially empowered to override all these treaties, then there was no need to waste further time, as it was beyond the Governor's and his own powers to change them. The subject was dropped and never raised again.

Christian theology was never formally taught in the university, but Dr Duncan was fully satisfied with the opportunity he had in his lectures on civilization of showing the beneficial results of Christianity. I too was equally satisfied with the opportunity of presenting the various religions in a fair light during my lectures on history, and of explaining Christianity in conversations with students, with leaders of thought in the province, and with the highest officials. I also took the opportunity of occasional visits from leading missionaries to invite officials, gentry and students to special lectures in the large university hall. But, under the special circumstances, the university did not seem to me to be the place for religious propaganda, and it was therefore a great pleasure to me to accept the invitation of the Baptist Missionary Society to assist in and become first President of the Y.M.C.A. which they established. There on Sunday afternoons we had a fine company of young men to listen to lectures on general topics considered from the religious standpoint; and when Mr Sherwood Eddy came to deliver four lectures on Jesus Christ, the building proved incapable of holding the crowds of students who came to hear him. I do not know how many of all the men who passed through the university have joined the Church. It would be to their own and their country's welfare for them to do so. But I do know that wherever they have gone, instead of being anti-Christian, as would surely have been the case without the university and the Y.M.C.A., they have become kindly disposed; and I have not heard a single instance of hostility. If the university had done nothing but break down ill feeling and produce goodwill amongst officials, gentry and scholars it would have been worth all the service that was rendered. But it did far more than that.

At the outset there were no buildings suitable for a university. These all had to be planned and built by Duncan. In the meantime Governor Ts'ên lent the best building in the city for the temporary use of the university. On the very day he handed over this building to Richard he discovered that the anti-foreign official who had been appointed head of the Chinese department had been endeavouring to undermine his influence in Peking, by charging him with yielding everything to Richard and ignoring Chinese rights. Now Ts'ên was the most resolute, the most honest and the grimmest Governor in China. Being one of the first officials to meet and succour the Empress Dowager during her flight in 1900, he had been promoted to succeed Yü Hsien as Governor of Shansi; so his loyalty was unassailable. During his brief governorship his rule was of the sternest. For instance, one of his underlings "squeezed" a dollar out of a poor old woman, who thereupon waited kneeling in the road for his Excellency to pass, and then proffered him a petition pleading for protection. The culprit was instantly sent for, convicted on the spot and summarily decapitated, a terror-inspiring warning to H.E.'s retinue. His enemies were many, for he did not hesitate to impeach the highest officials of corruption, and brought even Prince Ch'ing on his knees before the Dowager. His further promotion to important Viceroyalties was rapid, his enemies all the time hoping, but in vain, that each new post would bring him difficulties and responsibilities beyond his capacity.

Such was the despotic type of man with whom Richard had to deal in his negotiations. Such was also the type of man discovered by Richard's chief opponent, the travelled, anti-foreign critic. On hearing of his accusations to Peking the Governor gave instant orders to him to hand over everything in the Chinese department of the university and to leave the city that very day, or to remain at his peril. The Governor's wrath was so violent that none of the high officials or gentry dared to plead for mitigation. It was a boon to the university that this man thus early aroused the Governor's ire, for with such a superintendent in charge of

the Chinese Department Duncan would have been harassed by relentless overt and covert opposition.

The same afternoon the Governor invited the leading officials and gentry to a farewell dinner to Richard. At its close the latter rose and thanked the Governor for his kindness, and congratulated the province on having in him a Governor who had initiated two undertakings greater than anything that had ever been accomplished before in Shansi —the founding of a modern university so as to be abreast of other nations in education, and the commencement of a railway in Shansi, from which the people would derive immense benefit. At this point Richard was interrupted by the Governor, who rose to his feet and generously cried: "No, no! these two projects are both due to you. If you had not been here they would not have been carried out." Thus, at last, were Richard's early dreams for Shansi realized —railway communication to prevent the hideous return of famine, and to develop the enormous natural resources of the province ; and a university to teach the men of the province to develop their own territory and its people.

The regulations for the new university were duly signed and sent to Peking, where they were sealed with the Imperial seal. A whole number of the official *Peking Gazette* was devoted to them, and, in the ordinary course, circulated amongst all the officials of the Empire.

It was not until September 1902 that contracts were signed for the erection of the buildings. The two departments were built on a large site inside the city near to the southern wall. Those of the Western college comprised a great assembly and examination hall, library, gymnasium, museum, offices and reception room, together with lecture-rooms and laboratories. Each school had its own rooms ; law, languages, literature, history and mathematics were in one building; physics in another; chemistry, mining and, later, civil engineering, each in another. The architecture was simple and Chinese in style. The whole university was lighted by electricity, the apparatus, from boiler to switches, being transported on mule-back from Tientsin, and erected by Mr N. T. Williams, the mining professor.

Premises may be built, apparatus bought and professors engaged, but without students they are useless. Now the number of students in Shansi who knew even the terms "physics," "chemistry," "mining engineering" were few, and there was none who knew anything of the subjects themselves. Neither were there any who knew any language but their own. It seemed as if Richard and Duncan were beginning at the wrong end, and that it would have been much more sensible to have started a kindergarten. But time was pressing, so an entirely new departure was made and indeed was necessary. Not only were there no students who understood English, but no professors were to be had who understood Chinese. To meet this difficulty Chinese interpreters were obtained from the coast. These men did not know the subjects taught, and could not speak the local language, but they were able to interpret the lectures of the Western professors into Mandarin, which was generally understood, until such time as the professors attained fluency in speaking Chinese or the students ease in understanding English. The idea was Richard's, and Duncan loyally and successfully endeavoured to ensure a maximum of efficiency in a minimum of time.

At the outset the work had to be of a most elementary description, but the professors were dealing with the picked young men of the province. These were all graduates in Chinese, either B.A. or M.A. They came from all over the province, were men of studious habits, and some of them of high ability. They were all over twenty years of age, some of them indeed over thirty, when they began their new studies.

The curriculum consisted of a three years' preparatory course in general modern knowledge, the standard for which was, generally speaking, a little in advance of that for the London Matriculation. At the end of three years the Government appointed examiners, and those who passed the examination were awarded the M.A. (Chü-ren) degree. Specialized courses of four years' studies followed for these men, the subjects being law, or physics and chemistry, or mining engineering or civil engineering. The final examination in these subjects took place in Peking, when those who

succeeded were awarded the degree of Doctor (Chin-sze). So convinced did the Provincial Government become of the value of modern education that they bore the further expense of sending successful students to England for a further five years' course of study. Thus at one time there were more Shansi University students in England than from any other educational establishment in China. Throughout the period of foreign control the province made all financial provision for the students, granting them allowances of from two to eight taels a month towards their personal expenses, and later making a liberal grant, sufficient for all their needs, to the students sent abroad. As their number in all reached about seventy, this voluntary expenditure was a tribute to the value of the work done by the university, apart from which post-graduate study abroad would have been impossible.

When the university was founded there was a great lack of text-books, indeed the terminology in most subjects was in a hopeless state of chaos, every translator creating his own terms. In 1910, during a visit to H.E. Yen Hsiu, Junior Secretary of the Board of Education, I drew his attention to this very serious difficulty and urged the appointment of a Board of Terminology in Peking. In answer to his argument that they had no funds for it I quoted the remark of Confucius: " If names (or terms) be incorrect, then statements do not accord with facts; when statements and facts do not accord, then the business of State is not properly executed; when business is not properly executed, then (political) order and harmony do not flourish; when these do not flourish, then justice is arbitrary; when justice is arbitrary, the people do not know how to move hand or foot." The remark was originally made in regard to government, but a smile soon spread over Dr Yen Hsiu's kindly face when he caught my meaning. Six months later, on my seeing him again, he reminded me of my quotation and said the result had been the appointment of Dr Yen Fu (educated at Greenwich) to found the Bureau of Terminology, and he requested me to call and see him. Thus did Confucius found a Bureau of Terms of which he never dreamt.

Soon after the university was initiated Richard established a translation department of the university in Shanghai, with Dr John Darroch in control of the staff of ten Chinese translators and one Japanese assistant. Could this department have been established in the university itself, it would no doubt have been of more direct service; but Duncan had already a sufficiently heavy burden; moreover, it would hardly have been wise to plant a staff of translators a thousand miles from a printing press. The department did good service in its issue of books on mathematics, botany, mineralogy, zoology, physiology, physics, pedagogy; also excellent atlases of astronomy and physical geography. In addition it issued Myers' *Universal History*, Gibbins' *History of Commerce in Europe*, and numerous other works. The department was carried on for six years, when the increasing need of funds for the science and engineering courses compelled its closure.

On his way back from Shansi in 1902 Richard called on Yuan Shih-kai, then Viceroy of Chihli in Pao-ting Fu. Discussing the urgent necessity for proper text-books, he told the Viceroy of his decision to set aside 10,000 taels per annum of the Shansi University Fund for this purpose. Yuan immediately said that he would contribute another 10,000, would get the Minister of Education to do likewise, and had no doubt the Governors of Shantung and Honan would do the same; but the promise ended like Yuan's later dream of the Throne !

That Richard's plan for the Shansi University became the plan for the Empire seems evident. When he introduced the scheme to the plenipotentiaries no proposal for national education was under consideration. Yet within three months an edict was issued commanding the establishment of a modern university in each provincial capital—another of Richard's dreams, though still unrealized. The annual sum generally adopted for such provincial university was the same which Richard had asked for Shansi. Enthusiasm for modern education spread like a wave over China, so that men from the " backwoods " of the Far West travelled to Japan in search of it. As many as 30,000 Chinese students

found their way to that beautiful land, where they imbibed a mixture of attenuated education, revolutionary notions and atheism, which latter they associated with the names of Darwin and Spencer.

Unlike the Japanese, when faced with new conditions the Chinese lacked a defined system. In this respect there is a measure of resemblance between Britain and China, but Britain is gifted with powers of speedy adaptation, while China is proverbially slow, perhaps because of her size. Moreover, there is in China a constitutional slackness and a national lack of thoroughness. This *laissez-aller* spirit finds frequent expression in the term *Ch'a pu to*, which means " not far wrong " or " somewhere about." What *Nitchevo* is to Russia and *Mañaña* to Spain, such is *Ch'a pu to* to China. The Japanese at the outset of their reformation, knowing and willing to acknowledge their ignorance, had the good sense to entrust the organization of their educational system to the Rev. Dr Verbeck, a very able Dutch-American missionary. Foolish pride prevented the Chinese from such sane meekness! They had extolled their own excellent " humanities " so long and so high that the study of these had become a barrier to most other knowledge, which was despised as stuff for craftsmen, not for gentlemen, much as science was despised, shall we say, in Oxford in the early half of last century.

No statesman had been sent abroad to study Western education. It was beneath the pre-Reform scholar to acknowledge that the West could have any learning worth a thought. In 1902 Viceroy Chang Chih-tung, a fine classical scholar, but a frail old man, and muddled with new ideas, was appointed for a year to study the whole subject of education and report to the Throne. His report formed the basis of the new educational system. It was modelled entirely on that of Japan, which was perhaps the natural line to follow, seeing that the Viceroy knew no foreign language, but could obtain the entire Japanese system in the written form common to both nations. The delay in the success of the Viceroy's plans is due to four causes. First, as Richard points out, it made no provision for utilizing the splendid supply of existing

material in the shape of the younger graduates of the old school. They might have been educated in their own country, as was the case with those of Shansi. Instead, they went out, at great expense, to Japan, and came back for the most part with new ideas but little training. These men became advocates rather than teachers of modern education. Second, Viceroy Chang's course extended over sixteen years, with no provision for the meanwhile, which meant that the country must wait sixteen years for its men of education. Third, there was no man of experience and character behind the scheme, as in the case of Dr Verbeck in Japan. Fourth, there was only a very meagre supply of Chinese teachers, who had been almost entirely trained in mission schools; and there was no provision for selecting the right kind of foreign teachers. Had China appointed a wise, experienced and trusted man at the head of her educational affairs in 1902 she need not have been in her present condition in 1922. The " prentice-hand " has been at work for twenty years; it still is " prentice " and still directs affairs.

Seven years later, in 1909, Richard saw Viceroy Chang, who was then frailer than ever and within a few months of his death. He urged on the Viceroy the need for providing suitable text-books, of which there was a shocking deficiency. Richard proposed that former returned students should be selected for this purpose. The old Viceroy shook his head and said that they might have learned their foreign subjects, but none of them knew Chinese well enough to produce scholarly literature. He asked Richard to undertake such preparation, offering to bear the expense. Old and frail though he was, he insisted on escorting Richard to the gate, and again urged him to undertake the task, saying he would provide the funds; but Richard pointed to his own grey head and said: " Younger men must take up the work "; and so they parted for the last time.

The Shansi University suffered irreparable loss in August 1906 through the death of Dr Moir Duncan at the early age of forty-five. He was mourned by all who knew him, foreign and Chinese. During his last illness he stayed at a temple on Lung Wang Shan (Dragon King Hill), and was buried, at

his own request, on the top of the hill opposite, where his colleagues erected to his memory a handsome shaft of white marble, a landmark for miles around. The Chinese Government had already conferred on him the second rank Red Button. It now posthumously raised his status to the first rank.

Professor Louis R. O. Bevan, M.A., LL.B., had been Duncan's right-hand man, and now became Acting Principal for a year, until my appointment in 1907. Such was the confidence that the university by this time had won that during this year 339 men, the pick of the province, were in residence; and of the first batch of graduates twenty-five were sent to study railway and mining engineering in England. Of these, twenty-three went at the expense of the province. At last Richard's dream was nearing full realization, through the adoption by the Chinese themselves of methods of provincial development which he had years ago advocated. About this time also a railway was being carried into the province by Belgian engineers, a formidable and remarkable piece of work, through mountainous country.

In 1907 health compelled me to leave the malarious south for a period. My wife and I were regretfully contemplating a prolonged sojourn in England when Richard wired offering me the Shansi post. During the Missionary Conference in the spring we had stayed with him and his daughters in Shanghai, and cemented our old friendship by much intimate intercourse. Never have I stayed with or met a man with such a fund of inspiration. To be with him was to be lifted out of the daily round and common task and to stand on the hill-top looking to the far horizon. I accepted the post because the Shansi University had always appealed to my imagination as a concrete example of a magnanimous Christian spirit, and also because of my faith in education. Richard shortly before had come to Wenchow to open the new college, which I had founded, planned, built and staffed, and for which my wife had collected the funds.

It was difficult to follow Moir Duncan. There were other difficulties on which I need not dwell, and there were only four years left to complete the work which had been so

admirably begun. Dr Duncan, Mr Bevan and the Faculty had planned the introduction of specialized courses in law, physics, chemistry and mining engineering, and Mr Bevan had made all the necessary arrangements before my arrival. Later we added a course of civil engineering under Mr Aust.

Richard visited Shansi in 1908 and had a remarkable reception. Dr Liang, President of the newly constituted Provincial Assembly, called together all the students from the university, and the numerous modern colleges and schools of the city. Two thousand of them were there, all in uniform, to do honour to their guest. In the course of his address Dr Liang said that all the chief teachers of these various schools had graduated from the university, and that these schools and multitudes of others throughout the province owed their existence to the stimulus given by the university.

In 1910 Richard again visited Shansi, when he was given a wonderful reception by the Governor, and all the officials, gentry and scholars. At a mass meeting the service rendered by the university was referred to in eulogistic terms, and Richard replied in a speech which profoundly moved his audience. During this visit he decided not to await the full term of years before handing over the university as a working institution. Convinced that modern education had now taken deep root in the province, he decided to resign his chancellorship at once, and the provincial authorities consented to take over all responsibility. At that time, in addition to myself there were Professors Bevan, Nyström, Williams, Cartwright, Warrington and Aust, assisted by fourteen Chinese professors and teachers.

We all naturally hoped that the success of the university would induce the provincial authorities to maintain it on the lines laid down. We had the confidence of the students, of the gentry and of the authorities, and it would have been a pleasure to me had the Governor appointed Professor Bevan as my successor and retained the staff, for my own work lay elsewhere. There were, however, opposing forces at work in Peking. Jealousy of the university and of its success had

always produced a grudging spirit there, though not in Shansi itself. The success of the university was unrivalled in the country. It had been a bold step to take grown men, begin with the alphabet and the first steps in mathematics and science, and at the end of seven years send them out knowing their subjects. This had been done in no other institution in China. It was the work of a transition period, was well planned, well organized and successfully carried out. Peking was unable to produce equal results, was annoyed and sought to belittle the Shansi success. In consequence it sent up a German-trained Chinese superintendent for the whole university who, directly the Western department was handed over, was to change the entire system. Germany was anxious to extend its influence across the north of China from Shantung to Kansu; Shansi was included in this programme, and there were always empty pockets in Peking! The university was finally handed over in June 1911. The revolution broke out in October of the same year. The successor of Governor Ting (who had been a warm friend of the university) was assassinated and a large part of the city destroyed. The university treasurer, a devoted Christian, named Kao, formerly Mrs Richard's teacher, pasted up all the doors of the various buildings with the foreign professors' large red visiting-cards, and the rioters decided to let the property alone, so it was preserved intact. But the chaos resulting from the Revolution left the province without ordered government and without funds, so both professors and students were dispersed. Thus came to an end the fine work of this unique university.

Perhaps it would be more correct to say that the real work of the university only then began. Hundreds of men had been educated and sent throughout the province as teachers. Schools were being established everywhere, and these were the men who became leaders of education. Sir John Jordan, one of the most successful ministers Great Britain has had in China, who visited Shansi before his retirement in 1920, says he found the Shansi province the most advanced and best governed province in the country. The Anglo-American Commission for studying educational conditions in China

reports that Shansi, before Richard's day one of the most backward, is now educationally the most advanced province in China. Sir Alexander Hosie and Sir John Jordan both report that Shansi, in my day still the most poppy-bedecked and opium-besotted province, is now clear of the drug, despite its universal recrudescence elsewhere. It was Governor Ting, since assassinated in Shanghai, who stopped the cultivation, the trade and the smoking, and it was my privilege to encourage him in his arduous and dangerous task. The resources of the province are being developed. Famine on its previous scale is no longer possible. Richard's dream is being realized, for it is quite certain that but for his residence there, and but for the establishment of the university, the province would to-day have been no better than, if as good as, other still backward provinces.

The following is a quotation from a correspondent of the *North China Herald*, written from a city some distance from Tai-yuan:—

"All through the province, in the yamens and schools, are graduates of the Shansi University. The Commissioners of Police of the province and very many of the present district magistrates are products of that institution. These men are heartily backing up the Governor in his reforms, and it goes without saying that without their intelligent support he would find it very difficult to go forward with his programme. So after nearly twenty years the wisdom and foresight of Dr Timothy Richard are receiving a practical demonstration."

The following is from a leader in an issue of the *North China Herald* of 9th January 1922:—

"In his address to the British Women's Association, which we printed in our issue on Tuesday, Professor Roxby made one remark which must have surprised some of his listeners. He said that, educationally, Shansi was the furthest advanced province in China. We do not think that many of those who consider themselves to be familiar with educational matters in this country would be prepared to hear such a statement. We have no intention of disputing

what the Professor said. He has been for months serving on an educational commission, which has before it the whole problem of education in China, and has in his possession information more accurate and extensive than anything we possess. But we feel sure that any old resident in China would, if asked, have asserted that some of the southern provinces, Kiangsu, Chekiang or Kuangtung were educationally ahead of far-away Shansi. But when the Professor goes on to inform us that in Shansi 50 per cent. of the villages have primary schools and all boys and nearly all girls have a chance of a modern education, then we are fain to admit that he is right, for, unless we are mistaken, such conditions prevail nowhere else in China."

CHAPTER XXIV

BETWEEN THE BOXERS & THE REVOLUTION

THE Reform Movement of 1898 was not dead. The Emperor might be in a gilded prison, the Reformers killed, in exile or in retirement, and the Boxers with their Empress Dowager in control of affairs, but Reform did not perish. The fact that within two years of the Boxer upheaval the Dowager began issuing edicts similar to those of 1898, edicts which found a ready acceptance throughout the Empire, is the clearest proof that the earnest advocacy of Richard and his colleagues had not been in vain. It was they more than any others who enlightened the Chinese mind as to the cause of China's failure, and not only the Reformers, but the official and educated classes were desirous, generally speaking, of the changes which had to come. Modern schools, opened by Chinese, began to spring up, though at the time there was still no possibility of obtaining by modern education the coveted " degree."

In August 1901 the first step was taken by the Dowager in the ordering of a change in the national examinations. It must be remembered that there are no " university " degrees in China; degrees are all national and have always been given by the Government. The character of the national examinations in China fixes the nature and standard of the nation's studies; and this it does much more directly than in the West, where each university sets its own standard with consequent variety. By the Dowager's commands modern subjects were now introduced, amongst them Western Law, general and constitutional, and Political Economy. The military examination and degree were abolished in the interests of army development, though some of us were rather sorry to see disappear the picturesque and age-long examinations in archery, on foot and on horseback, sword-play of a gymnastic order, the

lifting of phenomenal weights, and other antiquated but not valueless feats of physical skill.

In September it was commanded that all native colleges be transformed into schools of Western learning, and a university was ordered to be established in each provincial capital, a decree which is still only an order of the pen. Later an edict was issued that able young men be sent abroad for special study. These were mere repetitions of the 1898 edicts. The Emperor had then surprised the Manchus by urging the princes to travel abroad. As it was against the Manchu law for them to travel more than forty li from Peking or to sleep outside the city, this proposal came as a shock to them. Now the Emperor's brother, Prince Chun, was perforce sent to Germany to apologize to the Kaiser for the murder of the German minister; soon after another Manchu prince, Ts'ai Chen, represented China at the Coronation of King Edward VII., while others went to Japan, Europe and America. In 1902 the Dowager also countenanced the Natural Foot Society by issuing an edict against foot-binding, an age-long Chinese, though never a Manchu, custom.

On his way back from Shansi in 1902 Richard called to see Viceroy Yuan Shih-k'ai in Pao-ting Fu. There he again met Chou Fu, who had just been promoted to be Governor of Shantung. He had been a pioneer of telegraphs in the north, and active in railway extension. What greatly gratified Richard was his interest in Christianity. He had made a large collection of Christian books and tracts from which he intended to draw up a statement putting Christianity in a fairer light to the official mind. In order to find employment for an able scholar who was in temporary retirement during the period of mourning for his parents, Chou Fu appointed him to prepare the proposed treatise. Soon afterwards Chou Fu saw Richard in Peking and handed him this man's newly finished work to read. Richard was distressed to find that the writer had taken an extremely biased anti-Christian view. Happily he was able to expose the fact to Chou Fu, and in consequence the book, which might have done much harm, never saw the light.

While in Peking Richard was invited to call by the great Manchu Viceroy, Jung Lu, who brought back the Dowager to power, and was for an hour kept busy answering his questions. Richard likens him to Li Hung Chang in ability, clearness of mind and easy grasp of a subject. Jung Lu asked him if he would be willing to see Lu Ch'uan-lin, who was the most anti-foreign member of the Grand Council. On receiving an affirmative answer the Viceroy said: "To-morrow at five o'clock he will be at his house expecting you." What other missionary has had the entry into so many of the great yamens of China as Richard?

At the outset of his interview with Lu Ch'uan-lin Richard asked him whether he considered China's condition to be better or worse than sixty years before.

"Do not ask such a question," he replied. "It is far worse; every year it grows worse than the last." It was a Socratic dilemma which Richard placed before him, for he continued: "Is it wise, under the circumstances, to persevere in the old policy that has proved so disastrous to the Empire?" Seeing himself caught, the Grand Councillor showed skill in extricating himself by asking: "If you were in my place what would you do?" Richard promptly took the opportunity of recommending definite lines of reform. When asked his opinion on the currency question, Richard first referred him to the experts, but, being pressed, suggested that China, on a silver basis, could not expect to compete with Japan and other nations on a gold standard. Many years later, in 1910, when the Grand Councillor called on him in Peking, he told Richard that, while President of the Treasury, he had begun plans for the change to a gold standard when he was unexpectedly transferred to another appointment and—the currency of China is still in chaos! He describes Lu as a sturdy old gentleman who maintained his views with great vigour, but who allowed his national prejudices to beguile his judgment.

During Richard's stay in Peking in 1902, on the way from Shansi, he also met Prince Su. When the Siege of the Legations began, Mr James (formerly Richard's Shantung colleague, later Professor in the Peking University) went

to see Prince Su, whose palace was across the stream and street opposite the British Legation, where were most of the foreigners and Chinese Christians. James told the Prince it would be a great kindness if he would remove his family and let the native Christians find refuge in his palace. The Prince, whose abode placed him in a difficult and dangerous position, replied that if the Christians entered his front gate he and his family would escape by the back, and thus seem to be driven out. Professor James' invaluable action cost him his life, for it was while returning from settling the Christians into the Su Palace that he was captured by the Boxers, cruelly ill-treated and beheaded. Prince Su, like many other Manchus, had been favourable to Reform and, after the siege, as Superintendent of Police and the streets, he did fine service cleansing and improving the city. Two of his sisters also became teachers in girls' schools.

It happened while Richard was in Peking that the Chinese Foreign Office and Bishop Favier were conferring upon new regulations in regard to Roman Catholic Missions. Richard was informed by friendly officials of what was taking place, and thereupon reminded them of the 1896 Missionary Memorial, pointing out that in any new arrangement Protestant Missions should not be ignored. The Foreign Office asked him to act on behalf of Protestant Missions, but he replied that there existed a representative Protestant Committee which would be ready to confer on suitable regulations. Without waiting for consultation with the Committee, the Board on its own initiative obtained the issue of the following Imperial Edict on 3rd July 1902:—

"We have received a Memorial from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs stating that foreigners from the West are divided into two religions—namely, Roman Catholicism and Protestantism. The said Ministry speaks in the highest terms of recommendation of Dr Timothy Richard, who is at present in Peking, and is a representative of the Protestant Missions. We know Dr Richard to be a man of great learning, high attainments, and strict sense of justice, qualities we deeply admire and commend. We therefore hereby

command the said Ministry of Foreign Affairs to take the scheme the said Ministry has lately drawn up, with the object of making Christians and non-converts to live harmoniously with each other throughout the Empire, to Dr Richard, and consult with him on the matter, with the sincere hope that, with the valuable assistance of that gentleman, the object in view may be arrived at and the masses be able to live at peace with their neighbours, the Christians."

Later the Foreign Office informed him that the Empress Dowager wished to see him before he left. He replied that if she would put into real practice the many paper reforms promised by her he would be the first to congratulate her. He then added that he was leaving on the morrow for Shanghai; and he left accordingly, hoping that his reply would be a better stimulus for Reform than an audience, from which he expected nothing.

Before this, on 14th July, in company with Governor Chou Fu, he called on Bishop Favier and suggested that regulations for all missionaries should be arranged jointly, and some attempt made at a better understanding between Catholics and Protestants. The Bishop, with whom were the Bishops of Chang-tung-fu, Mukden and Shensi, expressed his approval, but died before further consultation was possible. Richard proposed seven simple regulations, of which Chou Fu, then Viceroy of Nanking, approved; but there is no evidence of further action. When visiting England in 1905 Richard saw the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Westminster and showed him the proposed seven regulations. After reading them the Archbishop said that had these rules been observed the Church would not have had to mourn the massacre of its missionaries, and asked for a copy to forward to the Pope. The proposals were as follows:

1. That if any missionary should circulate literature showing disrespect to the religions of China, he should be removed.

2. That if any mandarin promoted the circulation of

literature derogatory to the Christian religion, he should be removed.

3. That if any missionary interfered with the lawsuits of Chinese subjects, he should be removed.

4. That if any mandarin made any difference in the treatment of Christians and non-Christians, he was to be removed.

5. That the head of each mission should send an annual report to the Governor of his province, stating the number of chapels, schools and colleges, hospitals, literary work or philanthropic work that his mission was engaged in.

6. That the Governor should annually invite three of the leaders of missions in his province to confer with him as to how their work could be rendered more useful.

7. That the Governor or Viceroy should report on missions once every three years to the Central Government, so that it may be well informed and not liable to be misled by imperfect reports circulated by the ignorant or the mischievous.

Another of Richard's dreams was soon to be realized. Ever since his arrival in Shanghai he had been impressed with the neglect of the Municipal Council to provide any education for the Chinese. Here was a great foreign settlement with only a few thousand foreigners, but with half-a-million Chinese within its borders. It was controlled by a council of nine elected foreigners, who taxed the whole community and did splendid work in regard to roads, bridges, sewers, police and public health, but took absolutely no interest in the education of the Chinese. Mr (now Sir Charles) Addis, of the Hong-Kong and Shanghai Bank, had already drawn attention to this anomaly. Richard urged Mr Jansen, one of the Council members, to bring forward the question of Municipal education for the Chinese, and he heartily agreed to do so. He secured statistics as to existing private Chinese schools, and asked Richard to obtain information as to the work done for native education in other foreign lands. Mr Jansen laid a scheme before the Council, but it was not approved, and his death delayed further action.

In 1899 Mr J. O. P. Bland, secretary of the Council, expressed the view to Richard that his Council would now be willing to approve a scheme; unfortunately the anti-foreign riots of that year and the Boxer upheaval of 1900 barred immediate action. When peace again prevailed, Richard, with the Rev. Dr Hawks Pott and Dr Ferguson, drew up a scheme. This was placed before, and approved by, the Council, which promised to give the land and an annual grant of 1000 taels, if the Chinese would raise 30,000 taels for the building and equipment.

In 1901 Richard invited three of the leading Chinese to dine with Pott, Ferguson and himself. They were Mr Chu and Mr Chen Fai-t'ing, respectively Director and Manager of the China Merchants Steamship Company, and Mr T'ong Kid-sun, Compradore of Messrs Jardine, Matheson & Co. After dinner the matter was placed before these Chinese gentlemen, when one of them said there would be no difficulty about the matter, and without any further discussion they immediately undertook personal responsibility for the whole sum of 30,000 taels. A site was secured by the Council in 1902, and a year later handsome buildings were completed, with teaching accommodation for 400 boys and houses for foreign masters. Richard was made Chairman of the School Committee and engaged the first masters. The school was founded on modern lines and, along with certain mission schools, became the pioneer of modern day-school education in Shanghai.

In May 1903 he paid a visit to Japan in the interests of the Shansi University Translation Bureau. An enormous number of European text-books had already been translated into Japanese, and Richard's idea was that many of these might be turned into Chinese more rapidly than by direct translation. For the sake of some it may be said that the Japanese adopted Chinese writing over a thousand years ago, that certain modifications have taken place, but that the classical style can still be read by the educated in both nations. The advent of modern terminology, which has doubled the size of the dictionary, has been developed in Japan on more colloquial lines, so that modern Japanese

text-books are useless to the Chinese. It was impossible and inadvisable to adopt the modern Japanese terminology *en bloc*. For instance, transliteration rather than translation was a frequent device of the Japanese. Now transliteration into either language is a delicate and very partially successful operation, but a further transliteration from one into the other often produces results incongruous and even humorous.

Richard's object was to strengthen his Translation Staff by securing a good modern Japanese scholar, and a similarly educated Chinese acquainted also with Japanese. While there he also took the opportunity of studying the educational development of the country, and interested himself in the flood of Chinese students who were inundating the elementary schools, which in many cases had been specially established for them. He had interviews with Baron Kikuchi, the Minister of Education; also with the President of the Imperial University, the head of the Text-book Department, and many other educational leaders.

Prince Konoye, the President of the House of Peers, greatly interested him. He had been educated at Bonn, and Richard describes him as the Bismarck of Japan. To him is due the conception of Japanese hegemony in Asia. Sent to China, he sought to bring about an alliance between China and Japan with the object of checking Western aggression in Asia and of dictating Asiatic policy. This scheme was approved by the Chinese Foreign Office, and especially by Viceroy Chang Chih-tung, to whom the Chinese Foreign Office sent him. The Viceroy saw with delight the prospect of " revenge " on the West for its unceasing humiliation of China. Thus was formed the East Asia League, a copy of whose rules the C.L.S. (late S.D.K.) secured and published in its *International Review*. The great European War and Japanese aggression in China have for the time being cast this alliance into the shade, but it may at any time be revived. Overcrowding in the East is sure to make the world uneasy. If men are a nation's greatest asset, then the nations of the East are very rich and will be urgent for expansion. Richard broached to the Prince his idea of the federation of nations and limitation of armies to a world police; but the Prince

replied that the nations were a long way from taking such a step. Yet what is the alternative but armies constantly menacing each other together with the recurring clash of arms and mutual slaughter ?

The spirit of many Japanese resembled that of many Prussians, indeed the Japanese army was Prussian-trained, and the jack-boot was kicking the agreeable national courtesy into the lumber-room, where it had already kicked the erst-while kindly German manners. For instance, on the way back to China Richard found eleven Japanese professors going to Wuchang by the invitation of Viceroy Chang Chih-tung. He asked one of them, a professor of chemistry, what they were going to do there. He replied they were going to teach the Chinese the proper place of Europeans. " Their place is here, under our feet," he cried with a fierce laugh as he stamped his foot on the floor. Later in the evening he apologized for his insolence, saying that he had been drinking too much wine and had been talking nonsense. But " wine in wit out," and Richard was convinced that he had revealed the true sentiments of many of his race, and that there might in reality be a " Yellow Peril."

He was favourably impressed by the educational progress made amongst women. His visit to the Peeresses' School in Tokio happened to coincide with that of the Manchu Prince Ts'ai Chên, and the Manchu minister Na T'ung. Both of these he had met before, and they gave him a hearty greeting. The Principal, Madame Shimoda, was a lady of great charm and ability, and of beautiful manners, who had been educated in England. " At the end of the inspection she took us into the garden, and, plucking a white and a pink rose, she fastened them together and presented them to the Manchu Prince. He seemed at a loss to know whether it was proper for him to receive them, but as she held them firmly before him he at last took them. His stiffness of manner seemed all the greater in contrast with her extreme grace."

In March 1903 he was stricken with the greatest sorrow of his life. Mrs Richard was found to be suffering from cancer. An operation in the Shanghai Nursing Home proved to be unavailing, and on 10th July she passed away.

The blow to him and his four daughters was staggering. He had now to face the later years of his life without the one who had been both inspiration and check. They had been a remarkable pair, each with ability far beyond the common. She understood his every thought, and was always ready and able to strengthen his hands. She would sympathize with his plans and see their aim, but "You leave other people to build your bridges," she would criticize. Therein lay the weakness of his genius. He often expected others to leap with him across the stream; but minds, like legs, have not all the same stretch. For a man who could work so hard, so long and persistently, his reasoning at times had perplexing gaps. He was not built, for instance, for the patient, meticulous work of translation. Had Mrs Richard lived, much of his later work, valuable though it is, would have been better done because of her revision. She was the guardian angel of his eager mind, and her opinion weighed with him when that of others would have been ignored.

Mrs Richard (Mary Martin) was born in Edinburgh in 1843, her father being one of the city missionaries. Well educated, she was governess in a private family, and later in the Merchant Company's College Schools. During the famine in Shantung all the foreigners who took famine fever died save three, of whom she was one. She early devoted herself to the study of the language of which she acquired a remarkable knowledge. During her husband's prolonged absences from home she directed his mission work, and on one occasion was in serious danger of her life, through a fellow-missionary distributing relief when his funds were insufficient to meet the needs of the crowd which assembled. She translated many works into Chinese, the most important of which was her Biographies of Christians famed for their devotion in all ages of the Church. This was ultimately published in ten volumes. Her knowledge of music enabled her to lecture and also to write, in its day, a useful treatise on the principles of Chinese music. In addition to responsibilities as a mother she looked after her schools, trained and superintended Biblewomen, and was a welcome visitor in the homes of both the rich and the poor. While in

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE SHANSI UNIVERSITY

Dr. Richard in his robes of office.

DR. RICHARD AT THE CHRISTIAN LITERATURE SOCIETY

Before resigning his office of Secretary he gave his valuable library of 7000 Chinese and Western books to the Society.

Peking she helped the family purse by teaching English, and her three Japanese pupils, as already shown, all became Christians. In Shanghai she assisted her husband in editing *The Messenger*, was co-editor of *Women's Work in the Far East*, for a time edited *The East of Asia*, assisted in girls' school work, and was superintendent of the Chinese High-Class Girls' School. It was largely due to her efforts that the presentation of the New Testament to the Empress Dowager was made. Her work for the National Anti-Footbinding Society in China was invaluable. "I am never so happy as when I have plenty to do," she would say. "There will be time enough to rest by and by. Now the workers are so few." Early in their married life she determined that her own comfort should never stand in the way of her husband's work. "It must be God and His work that is to be first in our thoughts and each other next." That was the spirit which bore her up during her husband's frequent absences. In this spirit she lived and died. Her death called forth universal sorrow, for she had been beloved by all who knew her, both Chinese and foreigners.

Happily for both of these lovers—and I who have read their letters know how deep, how sacred, how beautiful was their love—their elder daughters were with them, and to their care the father was committed. One of them has told me that she never saw her father angry in her life. If the home value of a man may be gauged by the love and devotion of his women-folk, then Richard's value is unsurpassed. I cannot describe him as a good letter-writer to his children. Like most of us parsons, he was apt to be "preachy"; but even in this respect he could be charming. "What wonderful games," he says in a letter to his eldest daughter, "our Heavenly Father has provided for us in physics, in chemistry, in electricity, in natural history, in physiology, in universal history, in social life, etc., if we could only know how to play the games! They are so full of interest and intense excitement that we become intoxicated with joy. Play fair, says the Bible. Carry out the mind and purpose of God, of peace and goodwill to all, then all things are ours."

The death of Mrs Richard was a loss not only to her

husband and daughters, who at that period of their lives needed a mother's gracious help, but to a very wide circle. The cemetery chapel was crowded with sorrowing friends of high and low position, both of her own and the Chinese race. Rare and beautiful were the tributes paid to her character in letters to her husband from many parts of China.

The Russo-Japanese War broke out in 1904, when David smote Goliath, who in his fall made the Eastern, and even the Western, earth tremble. Japan the most despised, Russia the most dreaded, of China's foes, fought out their battles on Chinese territory to the infinite discomfort and distress of the Chinese inhabitants. Villages, towns, cities seemed to belong to either combatant rather than to China. Shên Tun-ho, an enlightened Chinese Tao-t'ai, who had assisted Richard in Tai-yuan-fu at the founding of the university, now called on him to ask his aid in collecting funds for the Chinese sufferers. Richard willingly assented, and they formed the first International Red Cross Society in China, for which he later received the decoration of the Society. Chinese, British, American, French, German and other nationalities co-operated, Shên acting as Chinese, and Richard as Foreign Secretary. The Chinese authorities in the various provinces, as well as many foreigners, subscribed liberally.

An attempt was made through the Government to secure permission to distribute aid to the suffering Chinese. Though these were in China's own territory, both Russia and Japan raised objection, for they were using it as their war zone and had their own Red Cross Corps. Such was the anomalous position for China, and not less so for the Relief Committee, which was called on to relieve a large public suffering between two alien armies, had large funds in hand for the purpose, and yet was refused permission to do its work by the intruding commanders. Happily Richard remembered that our old friend James Webster of the Scottish Free Church Mission knew all about Manchuria, and accordingly wrote to him. Webster happened to be acquainted with the Russian General, and in an interview obtained sanction to relieve the suffering Chinese behind his lines. After this the

Japanese General could not withhold his consent, so that what the powers of Peking could not compass was managed on the spot by a missionary.

He immediately wired for funds and for 10,000 wadded garments within a fortnight. Richard at once placed him in funds in Newchwang, and wired him that the 10,000 garments would be despatched on time. The amount contributed by the Chinese was 451,483 taels, or £56,000, of which the Empress Dowager gave 100,000, or £12,500.

In May 1904 Richard again visited Peking and had interviews with Prince Ch'ing, Na T'ung, President of the Foreign Office and of the Treasury, Sun Chia-nai and others. The London Missionary Society deputation (Messrs Cousins and Bolton) were at that time visiting the capital, so Richard took the opportunity of writing to the Foreign Office, drawing attention to the presence of the deputation and describing the great services rendered to China by the London Missionary Society and other missionary societies.

At the end of July he attended a remarkable conference in his old station of Ch'ing-chou-fu in Shantung. Richard and Jones had decided that the time had come when the leaders of the Chinese religious sects in Shantung should be invited to meet the Christians in conference, and discuss measures for the revival of religion in China. Such a fine conception was only possible to men of great soul and equal faith. The ordinary Christian is afraid that co-operation with other religions will endanger his own, and always has one hand ready to support the Ark of the Covenant. He hardly realizes that it is impossible for it to fall over. His faith in Christianity is of the timorous order. To change the metaphor, Richard and Jones knew that their rock was hewn out of the mountains, and that if anything needed protection it was feet of clay. Some ask what good resulted from the conference. I do not know. If nothing resulted but increased kindness and friendliness, the extinguishing of the fires of ill-feeling and of *odium theologicum*, the development of mutual respect and even respect for the other man's point of view, that would be enough to justify the holding of such conferences all over China—if there

were Richards and Joneses enough to go round. Such conferences held by ordinary men might be of little service. Richard and Jones believed that the search after truth and goodness was commendable wherever found, not only in the Christian Church, but amongst non-Christians; consequently the most remarkable conference ever held by missionaries in China met in Ch'ing-chou-fu, the scene of Richard's first great missionary success. I have never heard of such a conference being held before or since. The Chinese have a saying that there are only two good men, one of them is dead, the other not yet born. Richard and Jones are both "dead." Are their like yet born?

The Governor of Shantung, Chou Fu, sent as his representative to the conference the ex-Chancellor of Education, who was the 73rd lineal descendant of Confucius, and with him four other officials. Over thirty other officials also came, clad in their robes of office, including the Tartar General of the Manchu troops. In addition to the Christian representatives there were about a hundred religious leaders present. The conference lasted four days, with dinners and social gatherings for closer intimacy in the evenings. Many non-Christian gentry took part in the discussions. One of these advocated that missionaries, whose chief aim was to teach religion, should be asked to prepare religious textbooks for use in the nation's schools. It is regrettable that we have no further information on the subjects discussed.

After the conference Richard went to Chi-nan-fu, the provincial capital, so see the Governor. He had brought with him his four daughters to visit the scene of his early efforts. The Governor showed them every attention, sending them in chairs to see the sights of the city and the beautiful lake. He also invited the highest officials to meet Richard and the Protestant missionaries at a banquet, when the chief subject was religion. Chou Fu told of his erecting the first telegraph line in China, and spoke of the new invention of wireless. Then he turned to Richard and said that what China needed was a book representing God in His relation to the forces of Nature. Later, on the Empress Dowager's birthday, the Governor gave a dinner in the theatre of the

Imperial Palace at Chi-nan-fu. The high provincial officials were all present, also the Roman Catholic Bishop, and many other foreigners, officials and professors. Richard was given the seat of honour next the Governor. The dinner lasted for hours, the theatrical performances proceeding all the time. Between the courses the Governor took Richard out of the noise into a quiet back court for private talk. It was then that he made to Richard "two remarkable suggestions": (1) that the latter should write on his behalf to all the Protestant missionaries of Shantung, desiring them to elect three representatives to confer with him on mission work in the province; (2) that Richard should send him copies of the New Testament for him personally to distribute among the Shantung officials, as they would then read it with more attention.

On his return to Shanghai Richard saw the agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and was given 200 specially bound New Testaments for presentation to Chou Fu. The latter was shortly afterwards promoted to be Viceroy at Nanking, and later at Canton. Richard says of him: "Of all Chinese officials he was the most lovable."

CHAPTER XXV

CONFERENCES AT HOME

EARLY in 1905 he visited England, when the Baptist Missionary Society arranged special meetings that he might address influential representatives of the various churches in central places. He had the remarkable experience during the Welsh revival of addressing a Cymanfu, or great open-air religious meeting, on a hill-side shaped like an amphitheatre. The speakers were three Welsh missionaries —W. R. James and Daniel Jones from India, and himself from China. Richard states as the most thrilling part of the meeting the singing of a Welsh miner which stirred all hearts.

He spoke also in London at the World Baptist Conference of July 1905, and was elected one of the members of the General Committee. A lady who heard his appeal in regard to literature offered to pay the salary of a Chinese writer, and did so yearly until her death.

One of his chief interests at this time was World Peace, a subject on which he held strong views, and of which he was an original and powerful advocate.

While he was in England the Chinese Imperial Commission for studying Western civilization arrived, headed by Prince Tsai Tsê. It was typical of Richard's mind that he instantly recognized the duty of the Christian Church to show courtesy to the distinguished visitor and his suite. The Church's connection with China was important, and many of its members, foreign and Chinese, had received protection and courtesy from many Chinese rulers. It was right, therefore, that the Church should welcome the distinguished visitors, and that they should see something more than armies, navies, arsenals and factories. It was not well that the "macht" of Great Britain should be impressed on the polite but secretly chagrined Oriental. He knew already that we are mighty with our hands and wonderful with our machinery, but he did not know that below it all we

have a culture and refinement which religion, philosophy and the humanities alone can produce, and by which the might of our hands is subdued and kept under control. Woolwich, Sheffield, Newcastle and Glasgow are supposed by some who ought to know better to be more impressive than Oxford or Cambridge, Westminster Abbey, or, strangely enough, even the Houses of Parliament. Neither the intelligence of the visitors nor the soul of our nation is honoured by such cheap appraisement. Several wars, a burnt Summer Palace, indemnities and consequent national debt, together with a two thousand mile coast trailing with gunboat and steamer smoke have sufficiently impressed the Far East with our "macht." What it still needs to know is the real soul of England.

Richard was one of the first to realize this fictitious fame. In this instance he wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury, suggesting that he should invite the distinguished visitor to Lambeth Palace, and ask the President of the Free Church Council to join with him in meeting them. In 1905 mutual ecclesiastical hauteur and distrust were supposed to advance the progress of the Kingdom of Divine Love; but we have made wonderful progress, and the days are now less difficult for a generous Archbishop than those of 1905. The Prince, the President of the Free Church Council, with Richard as interpreter, together with the Prince's suite and others met the Archbishop and other bishops at Lambeth Palace.

Bishop Gore was also present at the reception, and Richard asked him whether it would not be well for the Christian Church here to send a commission of five men to visit China, two from the Free Churches, and one from the Scottish Church, in order to study and report on the position of missions.

"No," he replied, "I am afraid that is altogether impracticable; we are not ready for that yet."

"In that case," replied Richard, "the Chinese, who are a practical nation, may very well think that a religion whose parties cannot unite in such a small measure would not do for China."

What a lot of flotsam and jetsam has flowed under the bridge in fifteen years! We seem to be almost in sight of a Christian stream of living water unimpeded by

denominational weirs and sluices. In Canada a reunited Protestant Church is showing the way to the Church's salvation. In China, 1922 marks the initial stage of denominational absorption into a Chinese National Church. Even Richard's commission for visiting China was formed, though not officially—the Church was "not ready for that yet." Pathetic, but true! But a commission went to China.

It came about through Richard meeting Dr J. B. Paton, to whom he was introduced by Sir Percy and Lady Bunting. Dr Paton was a man of world-wide interests. He founded the National Home Reading Union, took an active part in farmers' savings banks in India, was the inspiration of other valuable institutions, and had a like mind with Richard in regard to the material and intellectual improvement of the masses everywhere alongside their spiritual development. Dr Paton, Sir Percy Bunting and Richard commenced the formation of the China Missions' Emergency Committee. It consisted of fourteen members of the Church of England and fourteen from the other churches. Amongst the Anglicans were the Dean of Westminster and Bishop Welldon. The Committee deputed five of its members to visit China and report. They were the Rev. Lord William Gascoyne Cecil (now Bishop of Exeter), Lady Florence Cecil, Sir Alexander Simpson of Edinburgh, Professor Alexander Macalister of Cambridge, and Mr Francis Fox of the Society of Friends. The time was opportune for so important a deputation. It would have been greatly opportune for the ablest representation the Church could have sent—for the Centenary of Protestant Missions was to be celebrated in 1907.

Robert Morrison was sent to China by the London Missionary Society in 1807. Four great Conferences have since been held. The first, in 1877, seventy years after his arrival: it represented only 13,035 converts. The second was in 1890, representing 37,287 converts; the third in 1907, representing 256,779 converts; and the fourth in 1922, representing 400,000 converts. At the first and second only two or three Chinese were present, at the third not a score; at the last they numbered half the representatives, and at the next they are to be in the ratio of two to one. Such is the sense of responsibility which has grown up in the Chinese Church.

The Conference of 1907 heartily welcomed the deputation. Richard was one of the vice-chairmen of the Conference, but was so overwhelmed with visitors and malaria that he was kept from many of the meetings. After the Conference the members of the deputation separated in order to cover more ground, and visited different parts of the Empire, where they met many missionary leaders and studied evangelistic, pastoral, educational, medical, literary and philanthropic methods of work, and returned home to report.

One result of their report was the immediate appeal for £100,000, of which £40,000 was to be devoted to education, a like sum to medical education, and £20,000 to translation of literature and text-books. The appeal was drafted by Dr Boyd Carpenter, Bishop of Ripon, and supported by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Duke of Argyll, Sir Robert Hart and the Lord Mayor of London.

Another outcome of this visit was the formation of the Oxford and Cambridge (later the United Universities') Scheme for a university in China. In three British universities, three American, and one Canadian university committees were formed for the creation of such a university. Lord William Gascoyne Cecil was the Chairman here, the Hon. Seth Low in America. Central China (Hankow-Wuchang) was decided upon as the proper centre, and in due course Professor Boxer was sent out to study the language and be ready for further developments, while I was invited to be the first President. After handing over the Shansi University in 1911 I came home to interview the Committee, and unexpectedly had to undertake the raising of the required funds. After three years' work nearly £300,000 had been conditionally promised when the war broke out and destroyed the scheme. Richard was keenly interested in it, and but for the war another of his hopes would have been realized.

Still another deputation which visited China during the Centenary Conference was sent by the American Laymen's Movement. This deputation discussed many things with Richard in Shanghai. Indeed one of the impulses which gave rise to the Laymen's Movement was the interest

aroused by the China Emergency Committee and its deputation.

In the autumn of 1907 Richard gladly welcomed the sending of a deputation by the Baptist Missionary Society to China, and in December went to Peking to meet it. There he introduced its members, the Revs. C. E. Wilson and W. Y. Fullerton, to the Foreign Office, where he described the work it was doing in the three great provinces of Shantung, Shansi and Shensi, provinces which the deputation visited. I had the pleasure of meeting the deputation, as already mentioned, in Shansi, and of according them an official welcome by the Faculties and students of the university, as also by the Governors and officials of the province.

It was in November 1901 that Richard first met Dr John R. Mott, who then "appeared on the missionary horizon of China as a star of the first magnitude." Richard found in him a master mind, able like himself to think not in parishes but nationally and internationally. He watched Dr Mott's work with deep interest and sympathy, recognizing in him genius of statesmanship and business method that might have led him to the highest office in his nation or made him a captain of industry. Instead he had dedicated his talents to a greater cause than that of nationality. Working through young men as Secretary of the American Y.M.C.A., as well as Director of the Student Volunteer Movement, he could sympathize with Richard's view that the student, the scholar, was the motive power in China as in every land, and under his inspiration the Y.M.C.A. has become one of the most powerful organizations for national development that China possesses. Wise counsels have enabled it, financially and generally, to grow on lines largely independent of foreign funds. Its appeal to young men on the triangular need of their lives, physical, mental and spiritual, linked up by fellowship, arouses and maintains the sympathy not only of young men but of their responsible elders and of public-spirited rulers. The Y.M.C.A. is building a bridge over which the Church can reach young men and young men reach the Church. With its work Richard always had the warmest sympathy, though I think I am right in saying that

he looked upon its literature as its weakest feature, which is still the case; but young men do not generally care for profound lectures out of school!

By his inspiring, powerful addresses and magnetic personality Dr Mott wonderfully stirred the hearts of university students in Europe, America and Asia, and by his advocacy became recognized as the greatest world-force in regard to missions. This resulted in his election as Chairman of the Edinburgh Ecumenical Conference in 1910, and his subsequent Chairmanship of the very important Continuation Committee.

Richard went home in 1910 to attend that Conference, and endeavoured to impress upon it the immense value of Christian literature, because literature took within its scope the whole range of human need and God's provision for it. He said what was true then, and is equally true to-day, that Christian literature was the weakest link in the Church's chain in China. It is the cheapest agent as it is the farthest-reaching, but missionaries are so occupied with local affairs, immensely important, and missionary secretaries and committees with diaconal affairs, that the national is still too much subordinated to the individual soul—which is both right and wrong. Richard never undervalued the individual soul, but he sought to impress on the Conference the ideas he advocated in his *Conversion by the Million*; yet—what could such a man do for so great a subject with only seven minutes in which to do it! Later he urged upon the Continuation Committee two points: First that in the distribution of missions, hitherto allocated to evangelistic, educational and medical work, literature should be given a properly recognized place, instead of being entirely overlooked as heretofore. Secondly, he asked that Missionary Societies should require their agents to report annually on the books they distributed and the effect of these books, with a view to the development of the most useful kind of literature. Dr Mott, at one meeting, told how Richard years before had pleaded for twenty workers in literature, but he was sorry to say the churches had not responded, for it was a duty they had neglected.

They have not responded even yet, and the duty is still neglected.

CHAPTER XXVI

VISITS TO JAPAN & KOREA

EVER since 1884 he had been impressed with the remarkable likeness to Christianity borne by Buddhism in its Mahāyāna form—that is, Salvation by faith rather than by "works." Like some others, he was of the opinion that historically they had much in common. During the 1907 Centenary Conference a friend lent him a copy of a work by a Cambridge man, the Rev. Arthur Lloyd of the China Missionary Society, then Professor in a Tokio college. Mr Lloyd wrote two books of some value, *The Wheat among the Tares* and *The Creed of Half Japan*. The first of these was being printed in Yokohama by the same press which was printing my *Analects of Confucius*. His manuscript and book were unfortunately destroyed, and he had to rewrite the book under difficult circumstances. Mine was damaged, but was replaceable, as the interior of China had begot in me a healthy regard for the vicissitudes of life. Richard and Lloyd developed a correspondence on their kindred interest, and the following year, 1908, Richard visited Lloyd in Tokio.

He invited a number of leading men to meet Richard at lunch, amongst whom were the celebrated Russian Archbishop Nicolai, the Anglican Bishop Awdry, the American Protestant Episcopal Bishop McKin, the American Methodist Bishop Harris, Mr Carey Hall, the British Consul-General at Yokohama, and Professor Sprague of the Tokio University. Archbishop Nicolai, the first to arrive, said to Richard: "When you called on me in the eighties I had only one newspaper. Now I have two." On Richard asking him among what class of people he worked, he replied: "I work among a very different class of people from my Protestant colleagues. They work among statesmen and leaders and students, while I work amongst the ignorant poor." Yet

Richard knew that the Archbishop alone had as many converts as most of the other missionaries put together.

After lunch Lloyd asked Richard to put whatever questions he liked on the problems in Japan. Richard expressed his surprise at the slow progress of Christianity in Japan and asked for a statement of individual views as to the cause. The Consul-General was a Positivist and expressed his appreciation of the attitude of missionaries towards the Japanese as compared with that of merchants and others, the missionaries being pro-Japanese, the latter anti-Japanese; but he naturally considered that less theological and more practical sociological work would make missions more effective. Dr Sprague considered that missionaries should emulate the example of St Paul, and instead of settling down in Japan or any other country, pass on from place to place; by this means the Japanese could develop the Christian religion in their own way and at a more rapid pace. Professor Lloyd gave as his reason that missionaries were really ignorant of the native religious sects. The others declined to admit that progress was relatively slow, but "their remarks were more or less apologetic and not very distinctive."

While in Japan he was especially pleased to accept an invitation to meet a dozen of the leading native pastors. To these also he put his question as to the cause of the slow progress of Christianity. He tells us that they were unanimous in saying that the missionaries "did not understand the philosophy, the religion or the customs of Japan, and consequently they did not win, but frequently alienated many of the best people, who otherwise would gladly welcome Christianity." "On learning this," said he, "I felt more strongly than ever the importance of the study of native religions in order to win the Far East to the Christian faith." There is no doubt that the above statement is true of many, though not of all, missionaries, not only in Japan, but all over the world, Africa included. They have the most valuable offer in all the world to make; most of them rightly feel that they are offering a ruby of countless price in place of a common stone, so what is the use of wasting time in examining the latter? But the owner of the common stone has had

it a long time, and to him it is as lustrous as the ruby, rather more so, for it is his own, while the other is in a foreign setting which does not attract him. With certain exceptions missionaries fail to see through his eyes; they do not get behind his mind, and they spoil the lustre of their exquisite gem by misinterpreting and misrepresenting the other's prized possession. For instance, Richard rightly felt that missionaries were largely ignorant of the religions of China, not least of Buddhism; indeed he knew his own ignorance and was anxious to remedy it, both for his own sake and also for the sake of his fellow-missionaries, and even more for the sake of the needy peoples of the Far East.

In a book called *The Speaking Stone*—that is, the Nestorian Christian monument erected in A.D. 781 in Si-an-fu, China —the Hon. Mrs Gordon had endeavoured to show the similarity between Christian rites and those of Japanese Buddhism, and inferred, without further evidence, that the former had been imported into Japan by Kobo Daishi and Dengyo Daishi, the famous Japanese Buddhists who visited China about A.D. 800 and presumably came under Christian influence. Translated into Japanese by Takakusu, the leading Sanskrit scholar of the country, the book stirred the Japanese Buddhists, and modified their opposition to Christianity. They made a replica of the Nestorian monument and put it at Koyasan, where Kobo Daishi lies buried awaiting the coming of the Buddhist Messiah. Richard tells us that his tomb is a simple one, approached by an avenue lined with tall cryptomerias, and on either side of the avenue are thousands of graves of eminent and devout Japanese, who await the rising of Kobo Daishi that they may together welcome the expected Messiah.

When the Principal and Faculty of the Buddhist college at Koyasan learned that their visitor had translated two standard Buddhist books into English, they called and invited him to lecture to their students daily during his four days' stay. He chose for his subjects The Religions of the World, The Civilizations of the World, The Increase of Materialism, and The Duty of Buddhists and Christians to revive Spiritual Religion. Discussing with the chief abbot

the possibility of co-operation in the revival of spiritual religion, the abbot responded heartily; for, he said, first, Buddhism sought the spiritual and not the material; and, second, higher Buddhism sought no mere selfish salvation, but the salvation of others. On Richard's departure the Principal accompanied him a long way on the road, and asked for a copy of the Bible for his college library, which was sent on Richard's arrival in Shanghai.

He was greatly encouraged by the possibility he saw of the creation of a better feeling between the representatives of the two religions. To him rivalry and bitterness, mutual misunderstanding and misrepresentation amongst religious leaders, in face of a world's crying need, were irreligious, and worse in a Christian than in a Buddhist, because the Christian ought to know better. He felt that one means of producing a better understanding both in Japan and China was to emphasize what he believed to be the fact, that Mahāyāna Buddhism is a blend of Buddhism and Christianity, probably through Nestorian importations. There may be arguments against the acknowledgment of a misborn sister by pure-blooded Christianity, but Richard could not think in such terms. His strength was as the strength of ten because his heart was pure — in its love for all religious men. Consequently, two years later, he was delighted when he heard that a monk, Iwashashi, had delivered a course of lectures to the monks at Kyoto on the similarity of the two religions. At first his audience was hostile to his friendly attitude towards Christianity, but gradually their attitude changed, and the number of his hearers increased at each lecture. Later he came and stayed two months with Richard, studying Christianity more carefully.

During his stay in 1909 in Japan Richard visited the temples at Horiuji, near Nara, the ancient capital. These he says were the first temples of Mahāyāna Buddhism established in the country. In one of them he was "amazed at the vivid likeness of some of the images to the description of the four beasts round about the throne in the Book of Revelation. In another, Buddha, as the Great Physician, is represented as healing all manner of diseases. In another,

Sākyamuni is represented surrounded by his twelve armed guards (disciples), whose names are all given. He stands on a sea of glass and the sun and moon wait upon him. In the service conducted in that temple they make the sign of the cross in the air.

"Miyajima, about half-way between Shimonoseki and Kobe, is one of the sacred islands of Japan. It has a famous temple, said to have been founded by Kobo Daishi, the famous religious reformer.

"On his return from China, Kobo Daishi endeavoured to unite the various religions of Japan into one, and to introduce what he considered to be the best in all the religions he found in China. At the top of the hill in Miyajima is a temple where a secred fire, first lit by Kobo Daishi, has been kept burning ever since. At the foot of the hill is a baptistery, which I was allowed to enter. I was shown a specially beautiful robe of silk worn by the priests during the baptismal service which is still observed in the Buddhism of Japan. When I explained to the priest our baptismal custom in the West he was greatly interested. In another large temple the priests were reciting prayers, the custom and form strongly reminding me of the Roman Catholic Mass. In the large hall I observed a family—father, mother, sons and daughters—kneeling reverently near the door. To them came a priest bearing a tray on which were set some little cakes and wine. They took the cakes and drank the wine, after which the priest returned to his post by the altar. On feast days this ceremony, which we might call the Shinto Mass, or Communion, continues throughout the day. It was impossible to witness these various rites without thinking of the ceremonies of the Christian Church, for the spirit pervading them seemed the same although the outward form differed."

In 1908 he also visited the famous Shinto temple at Idzumo, only second in importance to the Emperor's Shinto temple of Ise. Shintoism is the ancient native religion of Japan. He found there a model of the ancient native fire-drill, and many other objects of interest. Lafcadio Hearn

had visited this temple a few years before and written an account of it.

He also had remarkable interviews with two of Japan's great statesmen. With Prince Ito he had an hour's keen discussion on the proposal he put before the Prince for the federation of the ten leading nations in the interests of world peace and development. On rising to take his leave the Prince said:

"'Perhaps you will be interested to see the next room,' and with that he opened the door of a large chamber with nothing in it but a table and a few chairs.

"'This is the room where the constitution of Japan was drawn up,' he said. 'The Emperor had formed a Cabinet of which I was President, and here we met once a fortnight to frame the Constitution. The Emperor attended every meeting from first to last. He did not sit with us, but in an adjoining room where he could hear every word.'

"'It must have been no easy task,' I remarked. 'What were the most difficult questions?"

"'Perhaps the stormiest time we had was over the Article on religious liberty,' he replied.

"He then told me how he had been able to gain the consent of the members opposed to it. In managing this difficult question he had shown consummate skill. When he read his first draft of the Article the face of one member 'turned as black as ink,' and he exclaimed that he would never consent to grant religious liberty. A second member supported him.

"Seeing the determined opposition of these two men, the Marquis remarked that there would be no discussion of the question that day, but he would give them his reasons for inserting the Article, and they would have time to consider the matter before the next meeting. The subject of religious liberty had troubled him also for many years. But whilst in Vienna he had studied the question with a certain doctor who threw a new light on the matter. If a nation withheld religious liberty, there would result between the different religions constant contention, which in process of time

might develop into political quarrels and even into civil war. Once the nation was weakened by civil war, it would be at the mercy of any strong nation who chose to take advantage of it. On the other hand, if religious liberty were granted, the adherents of the various religions would be loyal to the Government, and would vie with each other in doing good, and thus strengthen the nation in every way.

"'The real question before the Cabinet to-day is this,' he said: 'Shall we adopt a policy that will give peace and permanent prosperity, or one that will engender strife and faction, and possibly involve us in national ruin?

"'When the Cabinet next met I asked the members if they had considered the Articles on religious liberty. The former chief opposer said, "I have done nothing night or day since we last met but think of this question, and I have come to the conclusion that it is best to try the experiment." The other opposer also agreed to try it. Thus the matter was carried unanimously.'

"After the Constitution had been satisfactorily drawn up the Emperor presented the house in which the meetings had taken place to Prince Ito for a private residence."

In Count Okuma Richard found

"a man of large visions, a generation ahead of his times, broad-minded and catholic in spirit, not only wishing the good of Japan, as is the supreme aim of his fellow-patriots, but also desiring the welfare of all nations.

"In the early days of Reform, his colleagues recognized his worth and appointed him Minister of Foreign Affairs. He advocated the policy of throwing open the whole country to foreign trade and intercourse in those early days instead of having merely a few open ports. To the Conservatives this was such Radicalism as could not be endured. He must be put out of the way. Therefore one morning when he was proceeding to the Foreign Office a bomb was thrown into his carriage. By a miracle he was not killed, but his leg was blown off. Since then he has walked with an artificial limb.

"Later, as the Cabinet did not move as rapidly as he wished, he resigned his position, and has since devoted

himself to the establishment of a private university in Tokio, where the students are taught on his own lines, so that in future they may carry on the policy for which he stands. The number of his students, some 7000, is greater than that of the Government university students.

"When I visited Japan in 1908, I found that 700 of the Chinese students were in Count Okuma's university, and he invited me to address them. Judging by the frequent and hearty applause, I felt that I had struck the right note. I urged the students not to think of going back to China to do any political work until they had finished their college studies, and had learned everything Waseda could teach them, or they would do harm instead of good.

"After the lecture he invited me with some professors to his residence close by for some further talk, during which I asked, knowing that he had introduced the comparative study of religion into the University course, whether there was any likelihood of the subject being introduced by the Government into the Middle Schools' course; for whatever Japan would do in education, China was sure to follow. The introduction of the comparative study of religion into the curriculum of Chinese colleges would tend towards a better understanding between the Chinese Government and Christian missions. After a non-committal reply he made some illuminating remarks on the subject of the Japanese attitude towards religion. He said that when Confucian scholars came over to Japan the Emperor became greatly interested in their teaching, and in consequence the Daimyos became interested in Confucianism. Later, when Buddhism was introduced into Japan, and the Emperor became interested and built temples for the new religion, the Daimyos followed his example, and built Buddhist temples in their respective principalities.

"'Thus,' he concluded, 'in religious matters our country largely follows the attitude of the Sovereign,' leaving me to draw my own conclusions."

While on the subject of Japan he refers to a visit he paid to Peking in 1910. The Japanese manager of the Yokohama

and Specie Bank invited him and the veteran Dr Martin to dinner. Members of the Japanese Legation, two or three journalists, and the pastor of a Japanese church in Peking were present. After dinner they joined the Japanese ladies in the drawing-room, when the pastor led evening prayer, one of the ladies presiding at the harmonium. Dr Martin then addressed the company on his sixty years' experience in China, and Richard followed, speaking on the connection between Christianity and higher Buddhism. Members of the Legation and journalists expressed their appreciation of the addresses, and the evening closed with a hymn and the benediction. Thus passed " a most enjoyable and edifying evening which could not possibly have taken place in any other bank in Peking."

In 1913 Richard visited Korea, from which Buddhism had first reached Japan. He went to a number of temples, and was especially interested in a famous cave temple built by the King of Korea for a " black monk," no doubt an Indian, who had been instrumental in the cure of his daughter. Its great central image of Buddha may have been the original of the famous image at Kamakura in Japan. But apparently he did not discover anything of a special character.

He had made a previous visit to Korea in 1908. The Y.M.C.A., under American direction, had just erected in Seoul, the capital, one of the many fine buildings it is providing for the young manhood of the Far East. The leading statesmen and public men, Korean and Japanese, had promised to attend the opening ceremony. The Koreans had little love for the Japanese, who were already their oppressors. They have had less love since, at which none need be surprised. Feeling was high, and Richard was invited by both Koreans and Japanese to pour oil on the troubled waters. He spoke on three succeeding days: the first day to Christians, the second to students from Christian and Government schools, the third to the high officials. On the third day he spoke immediately after Prince Ito. After expressing his sympathy for the Koreans in their national distress, he showed that disaster could be turned to good account. Amongst other things he pointed out that one

advantage of Japanese protection was that no other nation would now molest them, and that in Prince Ito, whom ten years before the Emperor of China wished to engage as his adviser, they had one who could help them to become a new people and a progressive nation.

The night before he left Seoul he was invited by Prince Ito to dine with him, together with the leading Japanese, Koreans and foreigners. At the close of the banquet the Prince made

"the most remarkable missionary speech I ever heard in my life. It was to this effect. His Emperor had sent him round the world to visit various nations and study what might be useful to Japan. He had learned three great lessons on his travels abroad. The first was that no nation could be considered prosperous if it did not attempt something for the material prosperity of its people. The second was that no material prosperity could last long without a moral backbone. The third lesson was that of the nations who had moral backbone, the most powerful were those who had religious sanction behind them. He hoped, therefore, that the missionaries would regard him as a sympathizer and colleague.

"These were the last words I heard from Asia's greatest statesman. Not long after he was struck down by the hand of an assassin."

CHAPTER XXVII

THE REVOLUTION

THE Revolution came as a surprise to all, even to the revolutionaries. Dr Sun Yat-sen, always a revolutionary rather than a reformer, was perhaps the most surprised of all. He was not even in China when it occurred, but he had for years been digging mines beneath the Manchu Throne, and was individually the one generally considered most responsible for its overthrow. When he had finished his work of destruction he had apparently reached the apex of his career. His sincerity and devotion are acknowledged, but of statesmanship and constructive ability he has so far given little evidence.

Richard first met him in 1896, immediately after his escape from the Chinese Legation in London. He was the son of a Chinese pastor of the London Missionary Society, who had studied medicine, first under Dr Kerr of Canton, later under Dr (now Sir James) Cantlie in the College of Medicine in Hong-Kong, of which he was the first graduate. Afterwards, because of his connection with the Young China party, he had to flee with a price on his head. In later years that price is said to have reached £100,000, a remarkable testimonial, on the one hand, to the fear he inspired amongst his enemies, and, on the other, by his non-assassination, to the esteem in which he was held amongst the Chinese in Europe and America, where he spent many years. On 11th October 1896, while in London, he was beguiled into the Chinese Legation and kept prisoner in a small room in the top storey awaiting an opportunity for smuggling him out of the country; but Dr Cantlie received secret information of his peril and moved the Foreign Office to his rescue.

It was shortly after his release that he called on Richard at his hotel in London. Expressing his gratitude for all Richard had done for China by famine relief and literature,

he dilated on the tyranny and corruption of the Manchus, declaring that they were all bad, and that their replacement by a Chinese rule would make all things well. Richard endeavoured to show him that there had been splendid Manchu officials and also rascally Chinese ones. He might easily have proved that the early Manchu rulers were amongst the ablest China has ever had, with consequent unrivalled prosperity. He might also have shown that, *de facto*, for a century past it was less the Manchus who ruled than the Chinese themselves, for the latter were in a majority in the Government, and the administration was almost entirely in their hands. He urged on Sun that, without a radical change at the heart of Government, the mere transfer of rule from Manchu to Chinese would be like turning a bad dollar upside down—it was still a bad dollar. Reform, not revolution, was needed; but Sun was not to be dissuaded. Hence China's chaos to-day. The Republic has come, probably to stay, for steps of this kind are not easily retraced. Reform would have been better than Revolution, but neither Richard nor the Reformer Ho-kai, whom he soon afterwards met in Hong-Kong, could dissuade Sun. The almost bloodless Revolution came as a surprise, but it has since made up for its bloodless deficiency, and is still driving the people along the *via dolorosa*. We in the West are still busy licking our own wounds, so it may be discreet not to say much more!

Richard again met Sun in Yokohama in 1900, busy with his plans for the overthrow of the Manchu. Richard finally told him they would have to part company, for he believed in enlightening, not destroying, the Government. His attitude is shown in a letter written to a Chinese correspondent, 18th February 1903:

"As to reform in China there are two views—one revolutionary and one reformatory. I do not belong to the former as I have seen such terrible disasters arising from violent measures. But I do all I can in favour of shedding light on all problems of real interest to China. We are preparing books which we hope to publish within a year on progress

in England, France, Germany, Russia and America during the last century or two, so that all who have the welfare of China at heart may have light on all those subjects which are necessary for the progress of any people. Jesus Christ is conquering the world by spiritual and intellectual rather than by physical force. We strive after *that* method. The other method has written over it—those who take up the sword shall perish by the sword."

Sun travelled in the Straits Settlements, America and elsewhere amongst the growing and well-to-do Chinese colonies overseas. He tried to persuade the French to assist him from Tonquin to form a South China Republic, but failed. Later he made his headquarters in Japan, where he had no difficulty in stirring up the spirit of rebellion amongst the tens of thousands of students who flocked there for civil and military education. These men returned to their various provinces with a gossamer cloak of knowledge which failed to hide their ignorance, and with a burning zeal for arming China against the foreigner and blowing up the Manchu Throne.

Sun's machinations found their culmination through the events which followed the almost simultaneous death of the Emperor and Empress Dowager in November 1908. Had the Dowager supported the reforming Emperor in 1898, instead of dethroning him, there can be little doubt that Sun would have had but a small following. The responsibility for the Revolution is in reality hers. On the death of the Emperor and the Dowager a child emperor was placed on the throne, with his father, the brother of the late Emperor, as regent. The Manchus thereupon sought to strengthen their power in the Government. Yuan Shih-k'ai, their strongest Chinese supporter, was driven into retirement, and they also alienated many other loyal supporters. The Manchu princes then pursued a policy of selfish greed, and had not the wit either to strengthen themselves for defence, or to unite with the ablest Chinese for the welfare of the whole nation.

The Revolution began on 11th October 1911, amongst the Japanese-trained military officers at Wuchang in Central

China, and the revolutionary students in other centres speedily followed their lead. The Manchu garrisons in the various provincial capitals contained men probably as fit physically as their conquering ancestors, but without adequate leadership or modern equipment. Fifteen thousand, including their wives and families, were butchered in this "bloodless" Revolution in Si-an-fu, and many thousands more in other provincial capitals. Viceroy Tuan Fang, who had saved the Si-an missionaries, was brutally murdered in Szechuan. Had Yuan Shih-k'ai and other loyal officers not been estranged it is certain that the outbreak would speedily have been crushed. But time was lost by the Manchu princes, and it was only after they had humbled themselves to Yuan that he consented to return to office. His success over the Republicans was soon assured, but to save bloodshed and destruction, as well perhaps as to ensure his own position over against Manchu distrust, he assented to terms which involved the abdication of the Emperor, and the establishment of the Republic under the five-barred flag representing China, Manchuria, Mongolia, Turkestan and Tibet.

Sun was in England when the Revolution broke out, but he hurried back to China and in December was made Provisional President of the Republic, with Yuan as Prime Minister. Three months later he resigned in favour of Yuan, "the wisest step in his life," says Richard, for "he felt he had no experience in the art of government, while Yuan Shih-k'ai was about the most experienced statesman in China." Sun became Director-General of Railways, which he did nothing to improve. The new officials he appointed during his brief tenure of Presidency proved rather more rapacious than their predecessors, and more corrupt than the Manchus. Disorder resulted and China began to fall to pieces. Thereupon Yuan resolved on energetic measures, and proceeded to reform and strengthen the Republican army in order to prevent the threatened disintegration. For this purpose foreign funds had to be sought, and Yuan arranged for a considerable loan. Sun, doctrinaire as usual, protested against this act — an emergency measure — as unconstitutional, and determined to send his protest abroad.

Richard was requested to interview him and advise against this procedure. He found him correcting the proof of his protest, and Sun handed it over to Richard to read. Having done so, Richard vainly urged him not to proceed with his protest, and Sun's career again became that of an exile. After an abortive rebellion in 1913, along with other revolutionaries who had well filled their pockets, he fled to Japan.

Unconstitutional as Yuan's act was, it resulted in the pacification of the country; but later his ambition outran his discretion and he died of chagrin through failure to enthrone himself, not in the hearts of a grateful people, but in the vacant seat of the Manchus. His oath to defend the Republic meant as much to him as had his oath to the Emperor in 1898, for he was never at heart a Republican. Soon after the Revolution he wisely invited back the exiled Reformers, K'ang Yu-wei and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao. Both of them were and are more in sympathy with a Constitutional Monarchy than with a Republican form of government for China. K'ang refused all office, but Liang was made head of the Department of Justice. Richard met the latter again in Peking in 1913.

Richard's disappointment with the results of the Revolution is shown in the following letter to a Chinese correspondent of 13th June 1912:—

"I rejoice with you in the removal from power of those who have obstructed the progress of China for the last hundred years. But as I conceive it, the destructive is only half the work. By far the most difficult task is the constructive, on lines that are in harmony with the will of God and the best thought of the leading men of the world.

"Instead of joyful co-operation on the part of young China on these lines, I am greatly distressed to find so many ill-informed thrusting themselves forward, while incompetent to lead or to win the confidences of their fellow-countrymen by noble examples of highest service. Still we must not be discouraged, for in the long run God will be sure to make right overcome might."

The shockingly harassed condition of the country due to

the ambition and rapacity, not of Manchu, but of Chinese officials, has prevented the development of a sound system of education. Little advance has been made; indeed for a time it seemed as if the principles of Nietzsche and Treitschke, imported by Yuan's first Minister of Education from Germany, were to take the place of the higher moral principles of Confucius and Mencius. This minister lectured in Shanghai in 1914, and declared that religion was no longer necessary for the people.

The immediate effect of the Revolution in regard to religion was stimulating rather than harmful. Missions came more into favour, and their message was better received. For instance, in the autumn of 1912 Richard went to the Baptist Mission Conference in Ch'ing-chou-fu, where he had laid so admirable a foundation nearly forty years before. At the close of the meetings they were astonished to receive a request from the non-Christians for the loan of their church in order that a public meeting might be called to testify their indebtedness to the Christian Church for every reform that had been introduced. Over a thousand gathered; deputations from all sections, Moslems and Manchus included, and teachers and scholars from Government schools. A military band came to play, officials made speeches, and one read a Chinese poem specially composed for the demonstration. Richard says: "It was a most happy occasion."

Again, though Shanghai is not typical of China, its opinion through its Press has a far-reaching influence throughout the country. In 1910 Dr Gilbert Reid had organized in his International Institute in Shanghai a series of monthly meetings for inter-religious discussion, and Richard became its Foreign Chairman. Leading Confucianists, Buddhists, Taoists, Mohammedans and Christians were invited to describe the good done by their respective religions. The object was to present each religion at its best, and its faults were not to be discussed. Before the Revolution the attendance was small, but afterwards the hall became crowded. About this time also leading Chinese Reformers called a public meeting in the largest hall in Shanghai to consider the subject of religion, for there was a general

feeling, not only that the Manchu Government, but also that the native religions, had failed. Richard and Reid were the two foreign speakers to a packed audience of Chinese men and women, hundreds being unable to obtain admission. Their plea for reform in religion met with warm response.

After this, Shanghai Buddhists and Taoists organized regular meetings to discuss the same topic, when Richard, Reid and other missionaries were invited to dine with them and address their meetings. The Taoist Pope came down from his home in Kiangsi, and Richard frequently met him. Dr Adams Brown told me the other day that the Pope was to have given a lecture at the International Institute on Taoism, but he became so nervous that he finally begged Richard to deliver it for him, as he—Richard—"could do it so much better." Some of the devout leaders often called in the evening and remained late to discuss religion. The outbreak of the war in 1914 came as a disturbing element, and the meetings at the International Institute, for reasons into which we need not enter, had to be discontinued.

In 1913 Richard made a special visit to Lao Shan in Shantung in order to see the Taoist monasteries at which had lived in the twelfth century the author of the *Hsi Yu Chi* ("Records of Western Wanderings"), which Richard was then translating under the title of *A Mission to Heaven*.

In June 1914 he visited Ch'ang-sha, the capital of Hunan, in order to dedicate a new church built by Dr Dubs of the American United Evangelical Mission. Hunan had been the most anti-foreign and anti-Christian province in China. The notorious Chou Han and others had formerly issued their virulent anti-Christian propaganda from here. Chou Han had threatened that the first foreigner to step within the province should be killed, cut in pieces and eaten by the people. The outbreak against the foreigners of the early nineties along the valley of the mighty Yangtze had its origin in Hunan. This Hunan literature was met in battle and overthrown by the literature of the C.L.S. By 1896 the chief Chinese writer of the C.L.S. entered the hostile fortress by invitation of the vanquished, and Hunan took a leading part in the Reform Movement. One of its ablest

young men was amongst the martyrs of 1898, while its Governor and Chancellor of Education were cashiered for life. Mission work began in 1897, but it was not till 1901 that churches, schools and hospitals were founded. The remarkable feature is that members of the most famous families of Hunan have become Christians, amongst them Tsêngs and Niehs, the former being descendants of one of the most famous personal disciples of Confucius, and of the first ambassador to England, Marquis Tsêng.

When Richard arrived there the city was suffering from a severe flood; so high was the water that the arch of the city gate could be touched by the boatmen. He was well received by the Governor of the province, the Chancellor of Education and the various missions. A specially interesting interview was one which he had with the chief Buddhist abbot, who called on him, bringing other monks and devout laymen. Richard urged on them the importance of removing religious mistrust by mutual sympathetic interpretation. A Chinese lawyer eloquently voiced the thanks of the deputation for Richard's translation into English of Buddhist books, and he was invited to visit the abbot's monastery. There he met a Hanlin, Mr Woo, formerly of the Reform club and therefore friendly to Richard. During the Revolution he had been Governor of Kuei-chou, but was now in retirement. He was well versed in Buddhism, and when Richard drew attention to the "prophecy" in the sixth chapter of the *Diamond Sutra*, that "five hundred years after me there will come the Fountain of all the Buddhas. When that one comes have faith in him," both Mr Woo and the monks agreed with Richard's interpretation. Richard urged co-operation instead of mutual antagonism, so that spiritual religion might be revived in China.

On 17th June he addressed a company of five hundred of the leading men of the province, including the Chancellor of Education, principals of schools and colleges, editors and others. After a hymn and prayer by Mr Nieh, Richard spoke on the subject, "Thy Kingdom come." Speaking of the principal aim of the Reformers of 1898, that of making China strong and great, he pointed to the advance made

amongst the best men in the nations towards the ideal of federation for international welfare. This goal was not the increase of armaments for the purpose of fighting one another, but the federation of the leading nations to form one Central Government for the whole world. For the attainment of this ideal, proper training in all schools and colleges was essential. On his asking those who favoured this aim to stand up, the whole company arose.

Little more than a month afterwards Europe was plunged into the most terrible war of its history, and China continues its progress from bad to worse. The cynic may consider this as a speaking commentary on the ideals of the seer, or visionary, as he will prefer to call him. But, though men may have to pray "Thy Kingdom come" for decades or centuries, what better hope has the cynic to offer to humanity? When enough people pray this prayer with all their souls the answer will not be far off.

He also addressed a thousand women of all classes, from the Governor's wife downwards, taking the cruel custom of footbinding as his main topic. Later he addressed an audience of six hundred pastors, evangelists, Biblewomen and Christian schoolmasters, speaking on the four essentials of true education: *heng*, *shu*, *pu*, *chwan*—*i.e.* the historical, the comparative, the universal and the special. After this address the Christian grandson of the great Viceroy Tsêng Kuo-fan enlarged earnestly in the guest-room on the address. To Richard his visit brought uncommon pleasure, as showing the change which twenty short years had made in this violently anti-Christian province, and in the fine Christian character and courage of members of two of the greatest families in China. Great was his joy that the key which had first opened the door into this important province was wrought by his Society.

CHAPTER XXVIII

BUDDHISM

WHEN Dr Richard spoke at the Parliament of Religions in Chicago he uttered the following pregnant sentences, which he applied equally to the exclusive ideas cultivated by all the religions of the world:—

"To us [he said] who have now an easy access to all the Sacred Books of the world the pretensions of those who claim their particular books as the sole authority at first sight appear almost ridiculous. There is, however, beneath the surface an important truth we should not miss—viz. that at the times when these Sacred Books became generally followed in their respective countries, they were the *best* that were known in them so far as they could judge. Nor can we possibly act better in our day than follow the best we know.

"Since those dark ages of non-intercourse of nations and little knowledge of each other's literature, a gigantic stride has been made. The best leaders of thought in all countries always make use of every fresh light they get. It is only the orthodox party in all religions who . . . denounce every Sacred Book but their own as false or of the devil. . . .

"In our days our Professors of Comparative Religions are doing for the whole world what the framers of the canons of the various religions did for their respective nationalities. They study comparative religion in order to find out what is truest and best in all. . . .

"Among other truths in common, all teach that there is an Almighty, All-wise, Supreme Mind, over all and in all the universe. All teach that with union with this Supreme Mind man reaches his highest development. All teach that

virtue is absolutely essential to ensure the highest rewards of life, and that sin, like disease in the body, endangers everything. And these are acknowledged by the best-qualified teachers of all religions to be among their *fundamental* truths. On these universal truths each religion builds its own peculiar superstructure. Whichever will elevate man nearest to the Divine and bring about most good to his fellow-men is the one which will command universal homage; and 'whoever' despises other religions which also teach righteousness and peace, love and mercy, can hardly complain if he is classified with proud Pharisees and not with Him who 'lighteneth every man that cometh into the world.'"

In the official *History of Shanghai* Mr Lanning, its editor, wrote:

"Dr Timothy Richard, one of the greatest authorities on China and the Chinese, says in his *New Testament of Higher Buddhism*: 'There was a time when every religion considered itself true and every other false, but that time has long since been superseded by a more just classification of all the great religions into good, better and best. And now we have a further advance by the latest authorities, who say that as there are no longer two sciences of mathematics, or astronomy, or chemistry, or of electricity in the world, the time is now come to say that there shall be only *One religion* in the future, and that one will contain what is truest and best in all past religions which reveal the Divine in them.'

"Then will be seen the true benefit which Christianity, purified of its dross, may confer, not only on the Chinese, but on all the races of mankind. It will combine all that is true in its own teaching with all that is good in theirs, and thus realize the vision which Dr Richard has revealed, forming the basis of an enlightened education in science and literature, the ground of the uplift of woman, the greater care of children, and that improvement in social conditions which must be the foundation of a nobler life. Already these are amongst the most promising signs of practical mission work. Our load of worn-out dogmas can hardly be said as yet to

have fallen from our shoulders as completely as did the burden of Christian in *The Pilgrim's Progress*, but the fastenings are steadily being loosened, and we look with confidence for that day when it will be recognized that the only real return which man can make to his Maker is through the medium of his fellow-man, when the answer to one of the questions in the Anglican catechism will run thus, ' My duty towards God is to love my neighbour as myself,' when there shall be seen Dr Richard's one religion for North and South and for East and West, a religion which shall know naught of assumption, persecution, or ban, but shall stand as temple doors wide open for every truth to enter, and every falsehood to flee away, that temple which in Tennyson's prophetic eye was

> ' neither Pagan Mosque nor Church,
> But loftier, simpler, always opendoor'd
> To every breath from heaven, and Truth and *Peace*
> And Love and Justice came and dwelt there.' "

In his *Hints to Rising Statesmen* Dr Richard, referring to religion, writes:

" 1. General Aim.—To learn of God and help all mankind, till we have discovered universal laws and applied them to universal needs, without distinction of race, nationality or past religion."

There are some who assume from this broad-minded attitude that Richard was nebulous in his religious ideas. Such was far from being the case. To him the religions of mankind were all a search after God and Immortality, but there were good, better and best. And he had no doubt which was the best in the interests of humanity. That he was fully aware of the deficiencies of Buddhism was shown in a letter written to his wife in 1897 from New York, where he says:

" I heard Mrs Besant on Life after Death, in which she spoke of the life beyond partly as a Christian would and partly as a Buddhist would, as she introduced reincarnation.

One of her remarks was that she was induced to join Theosophy by Madame Blavatsky to remove 'the cause of suffering in the world.'

"After the lecture I went to her and had some talk, when I told her of what you did in translating the Life of Kwan Yin, and then told her that we were missionaries in the chief land of the Buddhists as they did *not* remove the causes of misery in China. These causes were poverty, imperfect social conditions (national and international), ignorance and devilry. The Kingdom of Heaven, not Buddhism, dealt with these in actual life. . . . I wanted to indicate to her that there was a better way than Theosophy (which is Buddhism), and that way lay in the right understanding of the Kingdom of Heaven."

Nevertheless, of Buddhism he was a devoted and sympathetic student. To him, in its Mahāyāna form, there was so much in it which savoured of Christianity, and which stood for peace and goodwill, that his beautiful spirit preferred to dwell on the best it revealed for the enlightenment and welfare of men rather than on its manifest defects. Indeed there is truth in what one of his colleagues has said: "The motive of his studies in Buddhism was his desire to win Buddhists by showing them they had borrowed a part of Christianity, and should joyfully welcome a revelation of the whole."

He considered that the "common doctrines of New Buddhism (Mahāyāna) and Christianity were not borrowed from one another, but that both came from a common source, Babylonia, where some of the Jewish prophets wrote their glorious visions of the Kingdom of God that was to come. . . . From this centre these life-giving, inspiring truths were carried like seeds into both East and West, where they were somewhat modified under different conditions." Later he was led to think that Christianity had exercised a direct influence on certain schools of Buddhism through the work of the Nestorian Christians in China, who propagated their religion during and after the T'ang Dynasty, A.D. 613–907. Any evidence that the founders of

the Japanese Tendai or Nichiren sects came into contact with these Syrian Christians is purely inferential, as is also the surmised impact of Nestorian ideas on Buddhism. No one, as yet, has discovered how and when Nestorianism disappeared, whether it was merged in a Buddhist sect, or whether individual disciples entered and influenced certain sects of Buddhism. All we can say is that, valuable though surmise may be for instigating research, it has not yet succeeded in evoking satisfactory evidence. It was, however, the conviction of the above-named common origin of Christianity and Mahāyānism, or of the direct influence of Christianity on certain sects, which made him see in Mahāyāna Buddhism, not "the work of the devil to confound Mother Church," but the marvel of a vast multitude who were drinking from the same spiritual Rock and eating of the same spiritual Manna as ourselves.

As already shown, the first Buddhist book which aroused this conviction in his mind was the *Ch'i Hsin Lun* (*Ta Shêng Ch'i Hsin Lun*, *Mahāyāna S'raddhotpāda S'āstra*). That was in 1884; but it was not until 1907 that he published his translation. Seven years previously a Japanese, Mr Suzuki, had issued through the Open Court Publishing Company of Chicago a translation under the direction of Dr Paul Carus. Rightly or wrongly, Richard felt that Suzuki's translation failed to interpret the spirit of the writer or correctly interpret its meaning. Seeing that this is the oldest extant work of the Mahāyāna school, its importance is manifest. For the sake of the general reader it may be stated that Buddhism is generally divided into two schools: one the Hīnayāna, commonly called Southern Buddhism; the other Mahāyāna, or Northern Buddhism. The former is the School of Salvation by Works, the latter of Salvation by Faith in Bodhisattvas or Saviours. There are fundamental differences between the two, but this is not the place to discuss them. It will be sufficiently evident, however, that a correct understanding of the terminology of the *Awakening of Faith* and its proper connotation in our own language is essential to its right appreciation. That this is by no means easy will be seen from what follows.

Originally written in Sanskrit, the only existing version of it is the Chinese translation; and in order to understand it as presented by its author, the best way to treat it is to re-interpret its leading terms into Sanskrit, in which language and in Pāli we have sufficient evidence of their meaning. It must, however, be remembered that the Chinese have been interpreting the book in their own way, with an imperfect knowledge of the original terminology, and it seems clear from a study of the Chinese commentatories that their interpretation approximates more closely to Richard's than it does to Suzuki's. Take, for instance, the term "Tathāgata," translated into Chinese by Julai. "Tathā" = *ju* = so, like; "gata" = *lai* = come, arrived. The probable interpretation is: "He who has thus arrived"—or reached the goal of Buddhahood, which is Enlightenment. Suzuki, with the exception of an occasional interpretation by "Buddha," leaves the term untranslated. Richard uses a variety of terms: "Incarnate God," "Ju-lai," "the True Form," "the Eternal Ju-lai," and so on. Another term is that of "Bhutatathatā," translated by Suzuki as "suchness," by which is meant the "cosmic order," or "the sum-total of all those factors which shape the universe and determine the destinies of its creatures. It is the norm of existence and is compared to a womb in which all things take shape and from which they are born." This term is verbally translated into Chinese by "Chên-ju" = true so, like. "Bhuta" = *chên* = true; "tathatā" = *ju* = so, like. Its meaning in Sanskrit is reality, all existence; in Chinese it is interpreted as substance, qualities and immutable law; in other words, the universe, or the universal. This term Richard has translated by "True Form," "True Likeness," "True Reality," "Archetype," and other terms. A third term, that of Buddha, in places he translates by God. There are other terms of importance which have met with similar treatment. If the two translations were placed side by side, the untutored reader would not be without difficulty in recognizing them as translations of the same work. There are some who would have us believe that Richard's imagination ran away with him, but it must be remembered that he had by his side an able Chinese Buddhist, as well as the

commentary. Anyone who has read such a work as *The Lotus of the True Law* cannot have failed to realize that the terms Tatāgatha and Buddha have received an infinite extension. Sākyamuni, the Founder of Buddhism, is conceived of as only one of an infinite number of incarnations of an Eternal Buddha, who rules over an infinite universe of countless worlds, and whose Bhutatathatā is limitless in space and time. Looked on as a mere translation, Richard's version of the *Awakening of Faith* is open to criticism. Looked on as expressing the Mahāyānist's mind, it has a value of its own. I cannot endorse his interpretation in detail, but there are many Chinese and Japanese Buddhists who would agree with his point of view.

In his *New Testament of Higher Buddhism*, in addition to his version of the *Awakening of Faith*, he has included what he describes as the *Essence of the Lotus Scripture*. The *Lotus* has been translated from Sanskrit, but never from Chinese into English. That is now being done, and had Richard had the whole work before him, sympathetically translated, he would probably have modified some of his statements. But as in other things, so in Buddhist translation he was a pioneer, and those who follow may yet be grateful for his suggestiveness. To say that " the wonderful truths taught " in the Lotus Scripture " have precisely the same ring as those taught in the Fourth Gospel, about the *Life*, the *Light* and the *Love*, is to put a higher value on the book than careful examination may justify, but it is undoubtedly the Gospel of half the Buddhist world. Apocalyptic in character, it portrays the vision of an Eternal Buddha, of boundless life and boundless light, who from age to age appears among men, teaching them that through faith in him they may reach the blissful shore, and escape the miseries of mortality. All this is presented with a detail ornate and extravagant to the Western mind. But, as Richard says, " the important point is that Infinite Love and Compassion is raised to an ideal." His translation of the headings of the Lotus Scripture may not stand the test of closer study, still less will the Scripture references, but he did what none else has done, revealed from Chinese sources

the conception of an ultimate Eternal Buddha who is Life, Light and Love, somewhat grotesque though this Buddha may seem to severer Western conceptions.

His *Guide to Buddhahood* is a partial translation of the *Hsüan Fo P'u*, in which he has endeavoured "to give the gist of the whole book in as brief a manner as clearness of illustration will permit." The MS. of the work remained in a drawer for ten years before it was published, and evidently only saw the light then because he despaired of finding time to undertake its revision. The book has considerable value and will yet be useful to scholars who know how to appraise it alongside the original.

There are at least two ways of translating Buddhist books from Chinese into English. The first is to interpret them through the medium of Sanskrit or Pāli, in which case the translator may get near to the mind of the writers, but seriously misinterpret them as understood to-day. The second method is, while apprehending the original meaning, to interpret the works in the spirit of later Buddhism and as they are understood to-day by the few Buddhists who are capable of interpreting their meaning. Richard made no pretence to understand Sanskrit or Pāli, but he was able to enter into the mind of the Chinese interpreters of the religion. In this respect he is the advocate, if not the discoverer, of a new mode of regarding Mahāyānism, and of a new interpretation which in principle is more faithful to the form of Buddhism found in China than the older method of dependence on Sanskrit or Pāli records. Like most adventurers, he made mistakes, and just as nobody reads Morrison's pioneer *New Testament in China* to-day, so the *Guide to Buddhahood*, and the *New Testament of Higher Buddhism* were not meant to be a final expression, but the introduction of a new method, and in this respect his work will not be in vain.

His latest work, *A Mission to Heaven*, was a partial translation of a well-known Chinese book, *A Record of Western Travel*. It was originally written during the Mongol Dynasty by a clever Taoist scholar as a satire on a book by the great Chinese Buddhist traveller, Hsuan Tsang, entitled

A Record of Western Countries. *Baron Munchausen* as a satire on Bruce's *Travels* is brief and simple in comparison with the size and character of this work. It describes the transformation of a monkey into a monk, and is replete with marvels during the process. It is clever and amusing, yet can easily be read as conveying valuable moral lessons. Certain terms used in the work led Richard to think that it threw light on the long-lost Nestorian Church, and he gave an allegorical interpretation of the book which, if disputable, was generous and interesting. Some day, when a less imaginative scholar undertakes a full translation of this book of marvels, he will find much in Richard's work that will interest him.

Richard's contribution to the study of Buddhism may be described as more valuable for its suggestiveness than for its literal accuracy. He had a point of view insufficiently recognized by others. Speaking generally, he has supplied a key for the better understanding of Mahāyāna Buddhism as distinct from the Hīnayāna school. At times his imaginative sense carried him into regions beyond the reach of other eyes, for vision leaps over chasms, leaving plodders to build bridges for feet to tread. To reveal a new point of view is the work of a prophet, and—to every man his gift!

CHAPTER XXIX

HOME AGAIN

FOR eleven years Richard lived with his daughters in Shanghai. One after another they went away to form homes for husbands and families of their own. Only his eldest daughter was left. In August 1914 he married, at Yokohama, Dr Ethel Tribe, a lady who had for twenty years been a medical missionary of the London Missionary Society, first in Amoy, then in Shanghai. His mental and spiritual powers were as alert as ever and he was still remarkably active. Happy in his marriage, he shared the companionship of one who could enter into his life and hopes. For nearly five years they lived together in mutual contentment and confidence.

In December of the same year they paid a visit to Java, partly for health, but chiefly to learn what kind of Christian work was being done on behalf of the native peoples of the Dutch East Indies. He was struck by the eight different strata of civilization he found there—Primitive, Hindu, Arab, Portuguese, Dutch, French, English and Chinese. In the last he was naturally most interested, but what chiefly impressed him was the influence which the Reform Movement in China had exerted on these representatives of Greater China. Few people in Europe realize the rapidity with which the Chinese are emigrating to any and every country where there is work to be done and people willing to let them do it. In the tropics, as in the Arctic zone, the Chinese tolerate the climate, become acclimatized, and make themselves at home. Where the white man cannot thrive, there the Chinese succeeds, and however uneducated himself, he ultimately crowns his own material success by the education of his offspring. The educational development of the Chinese in Java took its rise in the Reform Movement in China, the extension of which to Java was

spontaneous and widespread. In so great earnest were its advocates, the leading Javanese Chinese, that at first considerable anxiety was felt by the Dutch rulers, who feared the movement might lead to rebellion. They soon discovered that it was entirely pacific and had no other aim than that of an enlightened education. In consequence the Government gave wise encouragement by establishing Dutch-Chinese schools, from which suitable students are now annually sent to Holland to complete their education. Dr and Mrs Richard visited many of the modern schools, and also temples and other objects of interest, and he has left on record his views in an article too long to publish.

The visit to Java unhappily failed to restore him. He was troubled with an inflammation of the digestive tract, probably sprue, which left him subject to other troubles that undoubtedly shortened his life. He returned to Shanghai very weak and ill, and for three months was confined to bed. To facilitate his convalescence he went in July to Japan, whence he returned to the C.L.S. after an absence from his office of eight long months.

Feeling that the time had come for a younger man to fill his post, in the autumn of 1915 he sent in his resignation to the C.L.S. Committee. With the utmost reluctance they released him from the responsibilities of the position, but begged him to remain secretary emeritus, an honour which he gladly accepted. In his last Annual Report Dr Richard said:

"A good many years ago they felt that China needed help from abroad, for when they looked at the text-books used in the schools throughout China they found that they lacked four things. One was the lack of true science; the next the lack of true history; the next the lack of true economics; and last, the lack of true religion. . . . The C.L.S. stepped in to help China to understand her problems and to bring her abreast of other nations."

At the annual meeting the Society's President, Sir Haviland de Sausmarez, H.M. Chief Justice of Shanghai, referring to Dr Richard, said:

" He at once proved to be the man for the hour. His numerous translations and books on Christian and general knowledge, his articles in our magazines, and his unparalleled acquaintance with Chinese officials, soon made the Society's name a household word in China. . . . His is a name to conjure with wherever he has set his foot. . . . He is beloved by all, and Chinese and foreigners alike come almost daily to his office to ask his advice in solving problems. They always go away helped and encouraged. . . . He is known everywhere as a true friend of China, and in many senses can have no successor. (In 1909) he gave his library of 7000 books to the C.L.S., and has added 300 more."

Shortly before this meeting, on his seventieth birthday, Dr Arthur Smith, the well-known writer on things Chinese, wrote to him:

" Many of your friends are to-day thanking the Lord, not merely that He put it into your heart to come to China, but that you were born at all! It has been a stirring time in which to live, and you have done your part—and more—to release the hidden and even unknown forces for the betterment of the Chinese race, and through them of the world. It is true that a good deal of this effort seems—at times—to be the way of a ship in the sea, of the eagle in the air, of the serpent on the rock, leaving no traces. But though all things change, in the economy of God nothing is really lost. It will be so with your strenuous labours upon the foundations of which many others will build."

And it was said by the late Samuel Couling, when Richard's colleagues made a handsome presentation to him on his fortieth anniversary in China:

" We might safely defy the eighteen provinces to produce a single person whom you have injured, while it is certain that those who have known you best have loved you most."

The Rev. Dr Parker said:

" For all these years ' Dr Richard ' and ' The Christian Literature Society ' had been synonymous terms. Dr Richard

had been the Society. Those who had been associated with him all these years and knew him best loved him most and esteemed him highest. He had been a man of vision; he was yet. They needed such men to help them to do great things, for all great movements, all great works had need of men of vision. . . . So many of them had their eyes down on the practical things of earth, and saw things in the small, that they needed a few men who could look above the small things of the daily round and common task and on the great problems of life and the great things of the time. Dr Richard's life had peculiarly fitted him for this great work. He had always exhibited 'uniform kindness and courtesy'; there had 'never been any evidence whatever of assertion or dominance,' rather 'the utmost deference, kindness, good will.'"

Early in 1916 Dr Richard's health became so precarious that it was considered advisable for him to visit England, in the hope that his native climate might restore him. Accordingly he and Mrs Richard left Shanghai on 20th May, travelling via Canada. While at Field, at the foot of the Rocky Mountains, they received the disturbing news of the death of the President of China, Yuan Shih-k'ai. It would have been a pleasure to stay for a time at Banff in the Rocky Mountains, but he had promised to be in Wales in July, and also was naturally anxious to visit his daughter Mary, her husband and children, who were farming in New Brunswick. Leaving Montreal on 1st July on the s.s. *Metagama*, with 1300 people on board, they were escorted by a cruiser through the perilous submarine-infested seas. It was an anxious voyage, but the ship arrived safely at Liverpool on 10th July.

On 14th July he went to Aberystwyth, where the Welsh University conferred on him its Doctorate of Laws and Logic. This was an honour long contemplated by the authorities of the University, and it would have been bestowed some years before had he been able to return home to receive it. Already he had been accorded the D.D. by Georgia, U.S.A., in 1895, and Litt.D. by Brown University,

U.S.A., in 1900. His Chinese honours were of a high order: First Red Button Grade of the Mandarinate in 1903, later followed by the raising of his ancestors for three generations to equal rank. In 1907 he was decorated with the Order of the Double Dragon. But no matter how high the honour a man may receive abroad, to be recognized as worthy by his own people brings ever a deeper gratification. Richard had been a prophet, a seer, an inspirer of men, and as such had been recognized in China and in America, but until now his " ain folk " had not put the stamp of their approval upon him. At last his work was crowned as it deserved to be in his beloved Wales, and he was proud and humble and grateful.

Unable to keep away from the throbbing heart of things during this period of peril, he made his home in London. It was a time for frugality, and they allowed themselves only a tiny flat. There it was that, after knowing each other thirty years in China, he and I met for the first time in England in Southampton Row. Later they removed to an even smaller flat at Shepherd's Bush, where again I had the pleasure of a long talk with him. The tropical trouble had returned and he was weak and ailing, but the old spirit still rose above physical debility. In August 1917 a small house was secured at Golders Green, where his health improved. His mornings, whilst Mrs Richard helped at the local hospital, were spent in reading and writing. His time was never sufficient for all the work he still hoped to do. Always was he pondering over new ways of helping on great causes, drafting pamphlets, writing and rewriting—all for the *world*. " Brotherhood *versus* Militarism," " Universal Peace," " The Civilization after the War," " One Great Religion," " A Plan of Peace and Goodwill that has never failed," " Some Forces in Modern China " (*Contemporary Review*), " Beginning of Permanent Peace," " Out of the Melting Pot," " Bringing of the Far East into the Kingdom of God "—these were some of his writings. The subject which most of all engaged his attention was that of Peace, and particularly the need for the formation of a League of Religions with that great end in view. This was the last work of importance on which he

wrote, and he spent much time and thought upon it the Christmas before his departure. Grieving over the eclipse of his hopes both East and West, yet ever dreaming and planning a way to secure peace for the world, he lived to rejoice over the end of the fratricidal war in Europe, if not of the chaos in China.

During 1918 he was so much stronger that he was able to attend meetings and even to take part in them. I saw but little of him, as war work commanded all my time and strength, but when we met, though his physical weakness was all too manifest, his inner man failed not. Once he got as far as Arundel in Sussex by invitation of Sir Harry Johnston; on another occasion he went to Buckingham Gate to have a talk with Lord Bryce, who, like himself, was so warm an advocate of the League of Nations. He had visitors from time to time, old colleagues and friends from China, Couling, Shorrock, Lambert Rees, Mrs Archibald Little, and others. Occasionally he would be gratified with the visit of a Chinese, and great was his pleasure when one day Liang Ch'i-cha'o came with his secretary to Golders Green to see him. Liang said he had received many invitations, but on arriving in England his first inquiry had been how he could find Li T'i-mo-t'ai, who had rendered such invaluable service during the Reform Movement. He brought with him ten volumes of his own works as a present to Dr Richard, to whom both present and visitor were a great delight.

Early in 1919 Dr and Mrs Richard decided to return to China, and accordingly booked passages for the early autumn, but such was not to be his happy fate. In April 1919 a surgical operation was considered necessary. He bore it well, and there seemed every prospect of recovery. Past exertions, unremitting and life-long; sufferings, physical and mental, during unparalleled famines; fifty years in Far Cathay—these had undermined his powers of resistance. He passed away to that Great Peace which he had ever experienced and loved and preached amid the turmoil of earth. His great heart ceased to beat on 17th April 1919, and his spirit gently passed into that realm where they see

before and after with eyes of knowledge as well as of faith. He was seventy-three years of age, and in the fiftieth year of his service for China. His body was cremated at Golders Green, the quiet funeral service being conducted by Rev. W. Y. Fullerton and Dr T. Reaveley Glover. Several of his old China friends were present, the Chinese and Japanese Legations were both represented; and the Baptist Church and its Missionary Society, the C.L.S. and the various Missionary Societies sent representatives; but one could not help thinking of the contrast between the present small congregation and the public funeral that would have been his in the land where he was known and revered. Among his own people he was almost a stranger; amongst the "strangers" of the Far East he was regarded almost as a sage by millions.

One feature noted by my old colleague, the Rev. F. Galpin, was that the undertaker chose from among the many wreaths the one sent by the Japanese Legation, and placed it over his heart, where indeed the East had lain through fifty years. China he loved, Japan he loved, and saw not why they should hate. The East he loved, the West he loved, and strove to bind them in bonds of mutual service. Many are his disciples, but none has yet risen to fill his place.

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